Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-247
Tuesday
28 December 1993

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-247 *28 December 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.
An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

ALBANIA

Tirana Court Convicts Former Politburo Members *[ATA]* 1
Albanian Ambassador on Relations With Bulgaria *[ATA]* 1

BULGARIA

Comments on Zhirinovskiy; Zhelev Reaction *[BTA]* 2
Government Urged To 'Take Note' of Milosevic *[CHASA 21 Dec]* 2
President's National Security Attitude Criticized *[DEMOKRATSIYA 20 Dec]* 2
Zhelev Views Foreign Policy in Radio Interview *[Sofia Radio]* 3
1993 Domestic Political Scene Reviewed *[BTA]* 3

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel Comments on Economic Issues *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 21 Dec]* 5
Cost of Living Rose 20.3 Percent in 1993 *[CTK]* 6
Trade Protocols With EU Signed in Brussels *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 22 Dec]* 6
Havel on Failure To 'Deal Well' With Media *[CTK]* 6

SLOVAKIA

Ministry Cancels Accord With Radio Free Europe *[CTK]* 7
Official Explains Reasons *[CTK]* 7
Opposition Criticizes Decision *[CTK]* 7
Official Denies Hungarian Collective Rights *[Prague Radio]* 8
National Bank Prepares Anti-Inflation Program *[REPUBLIKA 23 Dec]* 8

HUNGARY

Daily Publishes Boross' 'Government Program' *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 21 Dec]* 9

POLAND

Farmers Said To Gain Most From 1994 Budget *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 27 Dec]* 14
Columnist on Prospects for 1994 Budget *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 27 Dec]* 14
Cabinet Defends $4-Billion Deficit *[PAP]* 15
EBRD Finances Privatization Programs *[PAP]* 16
Finance Minister Comments on Privatization *[PAP]* 16

ROMANIA

National Unity Bloc Requests Five Portfolios *[Bucharest Radio]* 17
PNTCD 'In No Hurry' For Talks on Coalition *[Bucharest Radio]* 17
Roman Favors CDR-PDSR 'Political Pact' *[ROMPRES]* 17
Greater Romania Warns Against Coalition Plan *[ROMPRES]* 17
Party Leaders Assess Talks With Iliescu *[Bucharest Radio]* 18

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Peace Talks Reportedly To Resume 18 Jan *[TANJUG]* 19
UN Blames Army for Provoking Sarajevo Shelling *[AFP]* 19
Bihac Court Issues Arrest Warrant for Abdic *[Sarajevo Radio]* 19
5th Corps Deals Abdic Forces 'Complete Defeat' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 19
HVO Units Repel Muslim Attack on Vitez *[Zagreb Radio]* 20
Muslims Continue Attacks on Serbs Around Doboj *[TANJUG]* 20
Muslims Reportedly Hang, Crucify Croat Captives *[Zagreb Radio]* 20

CROATIA

Granic Urges EU To Exert Influence on Muslims *[Zagreb Radio]* 21
Tudjman Stresses Unity of State, Army *[Zagreb Radio]* 21
UNPROFOR: Truce Holding in Krajina *[AFP]* 21
Government Condemns Bombing of Orthodox Church *[Zagreb Radio]* 22
Speculation on Replacing Boban Viewed *[NOVI LIST 22 Dec]* 22

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Special Tax on Travelers Explained *[TANJUG]* 25
Strict Control Over Food to Montenegro Continues *[BORBA 17 Dec]* 25
Negotiators Disappointed Over Geneva Talks *[London AL-HAYAH 19 Dec]* 25
Article Summarizes Provisions of New Media Law *[VECERNJI NOVOSTI 22 Dec]* 27

Serbia

Commission Announces Final Number of Seats Won *[Belgrade Radio]* 27
SPS Official Views Victory, Krajina Vote *[Belgrade TV]* 28
Commission Head Comments on Election Rerun *[Pristina TV]* 28
Improved Economic Ties With Ukraine Stressed *[TANJUG]* 29
Consortium Founded To Help Rebuild RSK *[Belgrade TV]* 29

Macedonia

Rugova Briefs Gligorov on Kosovo Situation *[MIC 27 Dec]* 30

Montenegro

Officials Note Need for Ties With Macedonia *[TANJUG]* 30

Kosovo

Draskovic Condemns Albanians for Vote Boycott *[AFP]* 30

Tirana Court Convicts Former Politburo Members

AU2712172193 Tirana ATA in English 0931 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 27 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Tirana Court reported that the trial of defendants Pali Miska, Lenka Cuko, Muho Artunda, Qirjako Mihali, Hajredin Celiku, Vangjel Cerrava, Besnik Bekteshi, Prokop Murra, Foto Cami, and Llambi Gegprifti, former members and alternate members of the Political Bureau of the PLA [Party of Labor of Albania] that led the country for almost 50 years took place from December 24 to 26, 1993. The above defendants are accused of the crime of violating equality of citizens by creating privileges under Articles 107 and 13 of the Penal Code.

At the end of the trial, the head of jury, Artan Zeneli, 25, invalidated the decision taken at the beginning of the trial for not making known to the public testimonies of the defendants and witnesses till the end of trial. The jury took the decision under Article 40 of the Law on Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms which contributed to the interests of justice.

From this moment Artan Zeneli declared that mass media was free to publicize all the sessions of the court.

At the last sitting held December 26, 1993 the floor was given to attorney Genc Gjokutaj, 26, who declared guilty the above defendants and passed on them the following sentences:

1. Pali Miska, 62, to seven year imprisonment and indemnify the state by paying 334,963 leks.

2. Lenka Cuko, 55, to seven year imprisonment and indemnify the state by paying 461,899 leks.

3. Muho Artunda, 56, to six year imprisonment and pay to the state 271,951 leks.

4. Qirjako Mihali, 64, to eight term imprisonment and pay to the state 441,343 leks.

5. Hajredin Celiku, 66, to six year imprisonment and indemnify the state an amount of 310,149 leks.

6. Vangjel Cerrava, 62 years, to six term imprisonment and pay to the state an amount of 201,698 leks.

7. Besnik Bekteshi, 62, to six year imprisonment and indemnify the state an amount of 371,747.

8. Prokop Murra, 72, to six year imprisonment and pay back to the state 504,553 leks.

9. Foto Cami, 68, to seven year imprisonment and pay to the state an amount of 341,920 leks.

10. Llambi Gegprifti, 51, to eight year imprisonment and indemnify an amount of 406,580 leks.

The attorney also demanded to deprive all the defendants of the titles and decorations they enjoy till the moment of the trial according to Article 23/2 of the Penal Code.

The jury decided to give the floor to the defendants and defence attorneys to make the plea at another session scheduled December 28, 1993, at 12.30 hrs (local time)

At the end of the trial, Agim Bendo, head of the Tirana Court, told ATA reporter Lindita Karadaku that the defendants were sentenced under the laws they themselves had approved while the Attorney Genc Gjokutaj said that "experts of accountancy faced with lack of documentation which have inevitably favoured former 'Blockmen.'"

Albanian Ambassador on Relations With Bulgaria

AU2812070093 Tirana ATA in English 1129 GMT 25 Dec 93

["'A Policy Which Serves National Interests Is of First Priority'—Interview With the Albanian Ambassador to Bulgaria, Koco Kote"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—In an interview of the ATA reporter with the Albanian ambassador to Bulgaria, Koco Kote, the latter said that "For a very long time, relations between Albania and Bulgaria have been brought to a standstill for ideological reasons. But after the March 1992 elections these relations reached their highest point with the agreement signed by the two presidents, Berisha and Zhelev, in their meeting in Tirana. At present, we have common points in regard to bilateral relations, the Balkan questions, the economic reform and the democratic processes going on in the two countries.

A fruitful visit was that of the Albanian prime minister in Bulgaria in which some of the points which were talked were the construction of Sofia-Tirana highway, the trade relations between the two countries, creation of a joint bank and of a joint chamber of commerce.

According to Kote, nearly 50 per cent of the trade of Albania is realised with Bulgaria. He said that besides joint ventures created in Albania, a great number of Albanian businessmen make their business in Bulgaria. Evidence of this is the quantity of Bulgarian commodities traded in Albania. Mr. Kote said that Bulgaria may increase its trade in Albania in buying commodities there, but a great role in this regard must be played by the traders and the state and non-state institutions dealing with these questions in both countries.

Asked about the change of the former embassy staff with the present one, Ambassador Kote said that of priority in the work of this embassy is now to convey a policy which serves the national interests, the consolidation of bilateral relations of mutual interest, solution of problems regarding the crisis in the Balkans, the questions of Kosova, Macedonia and others. Our embassy, Mr. Kote continued, like all Albanian embassies in other countries, is reflecting the real physiognomy of democratic Albania.

Comments on Zhirinovskiy; Zhelev Reaction

AU2712140993 Sofia BTA in English 1043 GMT 27 Dec 93

[From BTA's 27 December "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—All dailies comment on yesterday's statements of Russian liberal democratic leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who is on a private visit to Bulgaria. Speaking to the BULGARIAN NEWS AGENCY, he said this country's political leadership should be replaced. Zhirinovskiy said President Zhelev was a political figure of the transition period which is drawing to an end. In an interview on national radio President Zhelev described the Russian politician and his statements as frivolous and called him a "freak." An OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK correspondent reported from Blagoevgrad (southwestern Bulgaria) that Zhirinovskiy and his aides, who are now in Sandanski, a town in the same region, are trying to arrange meetings with President Zhelev and Prime Minister Berov. Zhirinovskiy employs inapt methods used in the past, while President Zhelev paid too much attention to him in his interview, DUMA, the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), quotes BSP floor leader Nora Ananieva as saying. DEMOKRATSIYA, the daily of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), calls Zhirinovskiy "a peddler of ultranationalism" in an article headlined "Political Cretinism Visits Us." Zhirinovskiy has done an invaluable favour to Russophobes in Bulgaria, says a commentary in KONTINENT. "As Soon As He Set His Foot on Bulgarian Soil, Zhirinovskiy Caused International Scandal," runs a front-page headline in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, the daily of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. Most dailies run interviews with Zhirinovskiy and his aides. "Bulgaria should stop exporting timber and should dismantle the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant," Zhirinovskiy's economic adviser Svetoslav Stoilov said in an interview in STANDART NEWS. Bulgarian-born Stoilov based in Austria told the daily he owns a company building factories in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and the former Soviet Union, and trading in machines and cars. The Russian Embassy in Sofia distanced itself from Zhirinovskiy's statements, the dailies report. "High-Handed Big Brother To Leave Immediately," runs the headline of a commentary in TRUD. [passage omitted]

Government Urged To 'Take Note' of Milosevic

AU2512154593 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 21 Dec 93 p 8

[Editorial commentary: "Sofia Should Finally Take Note of Milosevic!"]

[Text] It is high time to stop acting like ostriches and take note of Serbian President Milosevic. Instead of losing power, he again received his people's support and won a convincing victory in Serbia's elections.

Greece has supported him for a long time. The West understood that Milosevic is the strong man in the Balkans and began to woo him. There is no other way to stop the war in Yugoslavia.

Our politicians already succeeded in quarreling with Greece over Macedonia and began a cold war against Belgrade.

It appears that now we will have to pray for a place in the Balkans' Christian nest. Otherwise, we will be forced to implement our national dream—with Allah's help every Bulgarian will become an American!

President's National Security Attitude Criticized

AU2512175793 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 20 Dec 93 p 3

[Yordan Vasilev commentary: "President and National Security"]

[Text] On 19 December we heard the president's view on national security issues. Bulgarian radio's Khorizont Program carried the extensive interview and broadcast it to the entire country. This compels us to ponder over what the president said and what he left out.

The president listed many components and elements of national security—from the basic element, the economy, to the Army and special services. He omitted one very important element of national security—stability. Until the end of summer 1992 the entire world admired the Balkan pearl—Bulgaria—because it was a miracle of stability in our region's stormy atmosphere.

Now no one mentions the stability factor. Why? Because the first democratic government after 50 years of anarchy was toppled without any thought as to how this act might be viewed in the country and abroad. The president is partially responsible for the toppling of the government and the grave consequences that followed this act, most of all, the emergence of instability. This is why he omitted this element in his presentation.

Furthermore, he continues to repeat the thesis that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] itself relinquished the power. This thesis cannot be defended against the background of evidence. It is unworthy for a head of state to ignore the truth. He knows very well that in a democracy a government can be in power only as long as it has a majority in the parliament.

Toppling the SDS government was a grave blow against the stability of our country.

In September 1992 the president accused the SDS government of developing conflicts with many civic formations. Now that the government of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]-Movement of Rights and Freedoms [DPS], led by his adviser, is in conflict with all political forces, trade unions, and hundreds of thousands of citizens who do not receive their pensions and wages,

the president is silent. Why? Because this government brought our country to the brink of bankruptcy, and it is difficult to admit this fact.

The president thanked Mr. Dogan, to whom we are supposed to be grateful for the peaceful transition. The role of the basic factor—the SDS—was ignored. The SDS did not allow revenge or violence.

The SDS began the reform, which is the foundation of our national security. After toppling Filip Dimitrov's government the reform stopped. This was another heavy blow against our national security. Dr. Zhelev called Mr. Dogan a "balanced politician." Did he forget the "kick in the behind" the SDS received from the DPS? And what about the "turn to the left?" The very dangerous formulation expressed in the report to the DPS conference was not an exception.

It is the unity of action of all democratic parties and formations in future elections that will guarantee both reform and national security. We will await the president's word in anything related to the elections. It is he who will determine their date.

Zhelev Views Foreign Policy in Radio Interview

AU2612181393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Today President Zhelev answered questions on Khorizont Radio on Bulgaria's foreign policy. [passage omitted]

President Zhelev spoke about Bulgaria's relations with Russia. He categorically rejected the attempt to place Russia in opposition to NATO or vice versa. He stressed that Bulgaria's eventual admission to NATO must not be presented as a confrontation or controversy with Russia.

The Bulgarian president stressed that he has always supported and will continue to support President Yeltsin, because he represents Russia's reforms and its striving toward democracy, market economy, and the creation of a rule-of-law state. [passage omitted]

Concerning Bulgaria's foreign policy in 1994 President Zhelev said:

[Begin Zhelev recording] I believe that in 1994 Bulgaria's foreign policy must overcome certain serious weaknesses that have proved costly in the past. First of all, we must have a more efficient administration, which should utilize everything that is achieved in foreign policy by the official state institutions, the National Assembly, the president, and the government, and expand it, so that all this will produce real results.

I mean, for example, a visit to a certain country or region. Agreements are signed, treaties are agreed upon, and so on. All this must be further developed and utilized, so that the country benefits to a maximum degree. This is precisely where we miss a link. This gap should be filled by the national administration, which should include talented and competent people with a broad view of such affairs.

I also think that we should develop our trade with the European Union. We must settle our relations with GATT. Bulgaria must become a member of COCOM. This could and should happen in 1994.

Bulgarian citizens' travel abroad must be regulated. We must also develop a lobby abroad. One of the great weaknesses of our foreign policy is the fact that we do not have a serious lobby abroad, such as the lobbies of Greece and Poland, let alone Armenia and Israel.

Bulgaria simply needs such a lobby. It must take advantage of Bulgarian citizens who live abroad and who are willing to act in this respect. We must have a lobby everywhere and it must work with our diplomats for Bulgaria's national cause. [end recording]

1993 Domestic Political Scene Reviewed

AU2812080093 Sofia BTA in English 1655 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Commentary by Evgeniya Drumeva: "Main Political Forces Keep Their Influence in 1993"]

[Text] Sofia, December (BTA)—The year of 1993 did not spring any big surprises in Bulgarian politics. The main political forces: The ex-communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) preserved their public influence despite all attempts at forming a third, centrist force. Unlike 1992, though, when SDS was in power, this year it went into opposition and pressed for early parliamentary elections.

For the first time since the beginning of democratic changes, 1994 will find Bulgaria with a government which has been in office for a whole year. Lyuben Berov's cabinet outlasted all previous governments formed since November 1989 when the communist leader Todor Zhivkov was ousted.

The incumbent government was elected just a few days before the beginning of 1993 on the mandate of the third largest parliamentary force, the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). The cabinet defined itself as "expert," as it was formed of independent experts. At the beginning of this cabinet's tenure, many analysts predicted that it would be shortlived but, strongly criticized as it has been, it still enjoyed support from the majority of MP's throughout the year. In May, twice in July and once in November the National Assembly defeated SDS motions of no confidence in the cabinet.

The formation of Prof. Berov's cabinet led to a realignment in parliament. BSP and DPS supported the government and thus shaped a new parliamentary majority. SDS proclaimed itself as the opposition. MP's of SDS who supported the new government were expelled or

defected from the union and formed a new, fourth parliamentary group. This group developed into the New Union for Democracy headed by Dimitur Ludzhev (deputy prime minister in Dimitur Popov's coalition government in 1991 and former defence minister in SDS's cabinet, parliamentary SDS expellee) which recently decided to register as a political party.

Back in summer, there was talk of the possibility of SDS and DPS restoring the previous parliamentary majority and forming a new government on this basis. President Zhelev promoted this idea. However, the former partners have concurred in only one vote—the resolution to declassify the secret police files.

There were changes in the Socialist Party as well. In the summer Aleksandur Tomov (deputy prime minister in the coalition government of Dimitur Popov in 1991) left BSP and announced the establishment of a left-of-centre formation called Civic Alliance for the Republic (GOR). Tomov attracted a small group of socialist MP's to his alliance and did not rule out the possibility that they form a separate parliamentary group.

BSP, however, according to pollsters, remains for the time being the most influential political force. A sociological survey conducted by BBSS Gallup-Bulgaria found that between December 1992 and December 1993 BSP has lost about 3 percent of its constituents but now, with 26 percent ready to support it, it tops the parties' popularity ratings. Within a year SDS lost almost 8 percent of its faithful and, according to the December 1993 survey, it can count on support from 23.3 percent of those polled. According to sociologists, the effective legislation requiring that a party should poll a minimum of 4 percent of the vote to qualify for the distribution of seats in parliament, would also return to the legislature the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) with 4.3 percent in their favour this month, the Agrarian Party headed by Anastasiya Mozer (4.8 percent) and the Bulgarian Business Bloc (5.4 percent, whose leader George Ganchev collected about 17 percent of the votes in the presidential election in January 1991 and came in third). Sociologists found that this year Bulgarians are more disappointed with their political forces. In December 22.7 percent of the respondents said they would not vote if elections were held in the near future.

President Zhelyu Zhelev still holds the highest approval rating among Bulgarian politicians. According to BBSS Gallup, though, since the beginning of this year the presidential institution has dropped in public approval. President Zhelev's relations remain strained with SDS—the political force which nominated him and supported him in the 1991 presidential elections. Last summer SDS backed the hunger strike of Ecoglasnost leader Edvin Sugarev who pressed for Zhelev's resignation. Protesting against President Zhelev's policy, Vice President Blaga Dimitrova resigned on June 30 and has not been replaced.

Havel Comments on Economic Issues

AU2812083893 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Dec 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Petr Stepanek and Miroslav Jelinek; place and date not given: "It Will Not Be Easy To Structurally Adjust the Economy"]

[Text] [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] The independent Czech Republic will shortly celebrate its first anniversary. How do you view the results achieved in the economy over the short period of the republic's existence?

[Havel] For instance, the Czech Republic has improved its international reputation with respect to the risk investors and creditors have to assume here. Our country is being viewed favorably in that respect. Such an evaluation of a newly established country is unique, which we appreciate very much.

There are several positive factors: The double digit increase in exports and the constantly strengthening exchange rate of the Czech koruna against freely convertible currencies, a substantial growth of foreign currency reserves, our balanced budgetary policy, our having coped with the monetary separation, the low inflation and unemployment levels, the rapid progress of privatization, and the recovery in consumer demand.

On the other hand, gross national product declined slightly in 1993, mostly owing to the federation's breakup. Many enterprises have problems with sales, are insolvent, and on the brink of bankruptcy.

However, the overall evaluation of our country is very positive. Experts have not expected such results.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Do you agree with the opinion that our economic reform has been almost completed?

[Havel] I have to say that the principal pillars of the transformation have been erected, and, in the future, we will not have to perform such an operation again. We have an acceptable rate of inflation. We take it for granted that privatization is progressing, prices have been liberalized, and we have better access to foreign currencies.

I do not want to say that we should not try to refine our tax laws and other laws, that we do not have to think about improving general conditions in the entrepreneurial sphere, that we should not continue liberalizing and deregulating certain sectors, that we should neglect the education system, and that we should not try to improve the ability of Czech industry to compete on world markets, etc. I do not expect any substantial internal or external shocks to take place next year, but the structural adjustment of our economy, particularly on the entrepreneurial level, will not be an easy matter. However, our future will essentially depend on our having coped with the said processes. I suppose that the government will watch carefully the developments in the microsphere and react to them accordingly.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Do you believe that the East Asian principles of economic policy are usable in our economy, or do you prefer the neoclassic model?

[Havel] The economic policy is not the same in all East Asian countries. There is a large difference between completely liberal (and very successful) Hong Kong on one hand, and Indonesia on the other, for example. The Indonesian economy is controlled by five- year plans (which are different from the five-year plans we used to have in the past).

Despite all differences, however, the liberal trend is becoming stronger in East Asia, and the economies there are opening their enterprises up to the pressure of competitors.

Not all the tools of the economic policy that have been used in South Eastern and Eastern Asia have been completely successful. We should also stress the fact that many countries have sought to increase their economy's output by introducing interventions, employing selective tools, and imposing protective barriers—very often with catastrophic results. If two people are doing the same thing, the results may be quite different.

The anti-import policy, generous subsidies to the domestic industry, or the artificial revaluation of the domestic currency—practices that were so popular in Africa, Latin America, and also in certain Asian countries—have proved to be an expensive mistake. On the other hand, the export-stimulating policy of the "Asian Tigers," based, among other things, on devalued currency, is being viewed positively by experts.

Our republic has many obligations to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the European Union, and the European Free Trade Association. The world has changed and many practices have to meet tougher criteria than in the past. The protection of intellectual property, which has not been respected in South Eastern Asia, is a classic example.

There are non-negligible differences in mentality, culture, and historical traditions. Many experts are drawing our attention to the fact that there are close relations between these factors and the people's savings, interest in education, and exceptional entrepreneurial spirit. The existence of the so-called overseas Chinese has played a principal role in that region. This is something that we cannot ignore when analyzing the situation.

It certainly would not be a mistake to watch attentively what they are doing in those countries to support the export offensive, the attention they pay to improving the training of their labor force, and the efforts they exert to make the state apparatus functional, to lure foreign investors, and to develop key sectors.

The Chilean economic policy is also a source of inspiration. Their economy are exposed to market forces and

their policy is exceptionally successful from the view of economic growth, increasing exports, and the influx of capital. New Zealand's economy, for instance, is a model for liberal reforms.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] In which direction should the Czech education system go?

[Havel] It follows from my answers that I believe that the education of people and the quality of labor force are two factors that will have the decisive impact on countries' ability to compete in the global economy in the next century. These factors will make them win or lose this competition.

At the very moment, the Czech Republic has the advantage of having a cheap but qualified labor force at its disposal. However, it is clear that we cannot base our long-term plans on cheap labor, despite the fact that low wages make our access to the world markets easier. There will always be someone who is even cheaper, and if the quality of our products remains low, we will have to give up our markets. From the economic viewpoint, our general education system should be based on this idea.

Instead of a rigid system, tied up by a fixed syllabus, we need a system based on plurality and flexibility, which will secure a high standard of education for our entire population.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Instead of heads crammed with theoretical knowledge, we need students capable of independent and creative thinking, students who—owing to their duly conceived theoretical and practical training—are able to assert themselves on the new labor market. Universities will have to cooperate with research and development workplaces, as they do in developed countries.

When considering the direct financial participation of the population in financing the education system, we should realize that it would be a large loss for the national economy if someone were denied access to high-quality education just because he cannot pay school fees.

To "enjoy" charge-free education, without having some responsibility for one's own future, would be another extreme, however. It is a very sensitive and topical issue, and we should find a reasonable compromise.

Of course, the reform of the education system is costly and we do not have funds to waste. However, this investment should be given priority, since it will bear fruit in the future.

Cost of Living Rose 20.3 Percent in 1993

AU2712171793 Prague CTK in English 1232 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 27 (CTK)—The cost-of-living calculated from several indexes rose over the last year by 20.3 percent, the Czech Statistics Office Reports.

Living costs rose most for the employed—they were up 17.8 percent in November compared to the same period the previous year, while for farmers the figure was 17.9. Pensioners experienced the smallest rise—15.9 percent.

Prices have risen 234.4 percent since January 1989.

Trade Protocols With EU Signed in Brussels

AU2712143993 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Dec 93 p 1

[CTK report: "Protocols on the So-Called Interim Agreement Between the Czech Republic and the European Union"]

[Text] Brussels—The Czech Republic and the European Union [EU] yesterday in Brussels signed a Supplemental Protocol and a Complementary Protocol to the Interim Agreement on Trade and Related Issues negotiated in December 1991 by the then Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The documents were signed for the Czech Republic by its representative at the EU, Josef Kreuter. The Supplemental Protocol specifies the conclusions of the Copenhagen summit of June 1993 on the accelerated removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers against certain Czech products coming onto the markets of the 12. The Complementary Protocol legally confirms the succession of the Czech Republic to the Interim Agreement.

Havel on Failure To 'Deal Well' With Media

AU2712161593 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 26 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel, in his regular address from the presidential retreat, Lany, spoke of Christmas times spent during his childhood—and of presents—and of his relationship with the media over the past year.

Havel said that one of the things he had not managed during his year as president of an independent Czech Republic was to "deal well with the media."

He commented that the view of him in the media is a little different from the way he really is and what he actually thinks, adding that the public is finding out about him an "enormous amount of quite unimportant things," while the important ones are not making their way to the people.

The president and his wife Olga Havlova spoke about Christmas, with Havel noting that the holiday and the unwrapping of presents in particular represents home, in the sense of family, as well as tradition and a cultural and historical environment. The opening of presents itself is one of the things that create a feeling of being rooted, anchored somewhere, the president said.

Ministry Cancels Accord With Radio Free Europe

AU2712161793 Prague CTK in English 1901 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 26 (CTK)—The Slovak Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works has cancelled effective January 31, 1994, an agreement with Radio Free Europe (RFE) to broadcast its programme in Slovak by means of this country's radio transmitters, the Slovak Republic news agency TA SR announced. A reliable source close to RFE confirmed the information for CTK today. The agreement was made with the American side by the government of the former Czechoslovakia in 1990. Now the Slovak Ministry announced that the spreading of the programme of the foreign state through the transmitters of the Slovak telecommunications contradicts the Slovak legal standards.

Official Explains Reasons

AU2812073593 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—The agreement on spreading Radio Free Europe [RFE] broadcasts can be terminated without giving any reason, Vladimir Zeman from the Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works Ministry said on Slovak Television tonight. He said that RFE's further contribution to strengthening democracy and to extending media plurality in Slovakia via Slovak transmitters was no longer necessary. "The reason why we are canceling the agreement as of January 31, 1994 is simple. A plurality democratic system has emerged in Slovakia from the free democratic elections held in June 1992," Zeman said and added that both public and private stations were operating in Slovakia. "Broadcasting is entirely free, unlimited. I think this is one of the reasons (of the agreement's termination)," Zeman said. He added he knew nothing about reaction by the U.S. Embassy whose stand was requested as early as November 9. "We are not interested in politicizing the affair. The only thing we want to do is to put things in accord with legislation. The agreement was signed under the former Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. It seems that many things in the agreement are irrelevant," Zeman stressed on Slovak Television. He refused to convey his statement to CTK today.

The agreement, concluded between RFE and Prague's and Bratislava's radio communications authorities in 1990, has been canceled by the Slovak Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works, according to a report by the Slovak news agency TA SR which was confirmed to CTK on Sunday [26 December] by a reliable source close to RFE.

Opposition Criticizes Decision

AU2812075893 Prague CTK in English 1707 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—The termination of the agreement with the Radio Free Europe (RFE) will contribute neither to pluralism of media in Slovakia, nor to the improvement of relations between the United States and Slovakia, Peter Weiss, chairman of the opposition left-orientated Democratic Left Party (SDL), told CTK today. [passage omitted]

"I am an advocate of pluralism in broadcasting," Weiss stated. Asked whether the decision was politically motivated, he answered that "the more broadcasts, the better," and "it is good that there are radios which let the government look into the mirror."

Weiss said he believed that the termination of the agreement with the RFE would "surely not improve, the Slovak-U.S. relations before the approaching meeting scheduled for January 12 of the leaders of four Central European countries: Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland with U.S. President Bill Clinton. The termination of the agreement with the RFE is a proof of the current government's fear of freedom of expression, the opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) told CTK today.

According to the KDH, this is a signal of the real foreign policy orientation of Roman Hofbauer, transport, telecommunications and public works minister, who, in spite of the declared good relations with the United States, intends to replicate the "old communist routine of putting up technical obstacles to dissemination of independent broadcasting." The effort to limit spread of information otherwise than by law is anti-constitutional and contradicts Slovakia's real interests, the KDH declares.

The parliament should express its attitude to the politicians whose decisions damage Slovakia's interests abroad, a declaration by the opposition Alliance of Slovak Democrats (AD SR) says. "We are witnessing again interference of power in the sphere of the media," the declaration, which was given to CTK, states. "We will have again to defend and explain to the world the phenomena which cannot occur in democratic society," the declaration says.

The ethnic Hungarian movement "Egyutteles" considers the decision to be "an attempt to limit free dissemination of information in Slovakia," the party's spokesman Alzbeta Poganyova told CTK today. "Though the termination of the agreement is legal, it is ill-considered," she added.

The Slovak-language broadcasting of the RFE is not, however, jeopardized by the unilateral move by the Slovak Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public works, Oto Machac, an RFE official, told CTK today.

If necessary, the RFE programmes can be broadcast on short waves, "as before November 1989 overthrow of the communist regime under which the RFE broadcasts was jammed until 1988," Machac said.

Ministry Cancels Accord With Radio Free Europe

AU2712161793 Prague CTK in English 1901 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 26 (CTK)—The Slovak Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works has cancelled effective January 31, 1994, an agreement with Radio Free Europe (RFE) to broadcast its programme in Slovak by means of this country's radio transmitters, the Slovak Republic news agency TA SR announced. A reliable source close to RFE confirmed the information for CTK today. The agreement was made with the American side by the government of the former Czechoslovakia in 1990. Now the Slovak Ministry announced that the spreading of the programme of the foreign state through the transmitters of the Slovak telecommunications contradicts the Slovak legal standards.

Official Explains Reasons

AU2812073593 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—The agreement on spreading Radio Free Europe [RFE] broadcasts can be terminated without giving any reason, Vladimir Zeman from the Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works Ministry said on Slovak Television tonight. He said that RFE's further contribution to strengthening democracy and to extending media plurality in Slovakia via Slovak transmitters was no longer necessary. "The reason why we are canceling the agreement as of January 31, 1994 is simple. A plurality democratic system has emerged in Slovakia from the free democratic elections held in June 1992," Zeman said and added that both public and private stations were operating in Slovakia. "Broadcasting is entirely free, unlimited. I think this is one of the reasons (of the agreement's termination)," Zeman said. He added he knew nothing about reaction by the U.S. Embassy whose stand was requested as early as November 9. "We are not interested in politicizing the affair. The only thing we want to do is to put things in accord with legislation. The agreement was signed under the former Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. It seems that many things in the agreement are irrelevant," Zeman stressed on Slovak Television. He refused to convey his statement to CTK today.

The agreement, concluded between RFE and Prague's and Bratislava's radio communications authorities in 1990, has been canceled by the Slovak Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works, according to a report by the Slovak news agency TA SR which was confirmed to CTK on Sunday [26 December] by a reliable source close to RFE.

Opposition Criticizes Decision

AU2812075893 Prague CTK in English 1707 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—The termination of the agreement with the Radio Free Europe (RFE) will contribute neither to pluralism of media in Slovakia, nor to the improvement of relations between the United States and Slovakia, Peter Weiss, chairman of the opposition left-orientated Democratic Left Party (SDL), told CTK today. [passage omitted]

"I am an advocate of pluralism in broadcasting," Weiss stated. Asked whether the decision was politically motivated, he answered that "the more broadcasts, the better," and "it is good that there are radios which let the government look into the mirror."

Weiss said he believed that the termination of the agreement with the RFE would "surely not improve, the Slovak-U.S. relations before the approaching meeting scheduled for January 12 of the leaders of four Central European countries: Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland with U.S. President Bill Clinton. The termination of the agreement with the RFE is a proof of the current government's fear of freedom of expression, the opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) told CTK today.

According to the KDH, this is a signal of the real foreign policy orientation of Roman Hofbauer, transport, telecommunications and public works minister, who, in spite of the declared good relations with the United States, intends to replicate the "old communist routine of putting up technical obstacles to dissemination of independent broadcasting." The effort to limit spread of information otherwise than by law is anti-constitutional and contradicts Slovakia's real interests, the KDH declares.

The parliament should express its attitude to the politicians whose decisions damage Slovakia's interests abroad, a declaration by the opposition Alliance of Slovak Democrats (AD SR) says. "We are witnessing again interference of power in the sphere of the media," the declaration, which was given to CTK, states. "We will have again to defend and explain to the world the phenomena which cannot occur in democratic society," the declaration says.

The ethnic Hungarian movement "Egyutteles" considers the decision to be "an attempt to limit free dissemination of information in Slovakia," the party's spokesman Alzbeta Poganyova told CTK today. "Though the termination of the agreement is legal, it is ill-considered," she added.

The Slovak-language broadcasting of the RFE is not, however, jeopardized by the unilateral move by the Slovak Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public works, Oto Machac, an RFE official, told CTK today.

If necessary, the RFE programmes can be broadcast on short waves, "as before November 1989 overthrow of the communist regime under which the RFE broadcasts was jammed until 1988," Machac said.

Official Denies Hungarian Collective Rights

LD2812095693 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Arpad Matejka, the Slovak Government's commissioner for the new territorial-administrative division of Slovakia, has declared that Hungarian-speaking citizens living in Slovakia cannot be granted collective rights. If Slovakia is to remain Slovakia, a territorial-administrative division cannot be carried out on the basis of ethnic principles. As an extreme example, Matejka cited the history of Sudeten Germans, whose demands were and are completely identical to the demands being made by citizens of Hungarian nationality in Slovakia.

National Bank Prepares Anti-Inflation Program

AU2812074093 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 23 Dec 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Half a Billion Dollars More"]

[Text] Bratislava—The National Bank of Slovakia [NBS] is considering introducing a comprehensive anti-inflationary program that would bring monetary stability to Slovakia. This follows from information on the NBS' 1994 monetary policy provided yesterday by NBS Governor Vladimir Masar. The NBS is trying to realistically assess the current economic situation in the Slovak Republic and to estimate the economic and monetary situation in 1994.

The NBS is expecting an increase in the gross domestic product between minus 2 and zero percent, an increase in the inflation rate between 10 and 13.2 percent, a budget deficit somewhere between 14 and 18 billion [currency not specified], and an increase of $500 million in foreign currency reserves. In previous estimates, the yearly increase in currency reserves of 13.2 percent was used. This means that the currency reserves will increase from the existing 241.4 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] to Sk273.3 billion.

The second important factor in the NBS monetary policy—credits to enterprises and households—will increase by 6 percent—that is, from Sk265 billion to Sk280.8 billion. According to Masar, the Sk16 billion increase in credits to enterprises and households represents a certain cautious minimum of the NBS credit policy and must be judged according to two basic principles. [sentence as published]

Daily Publishes Boross' 'Government Program'

AU2812124493 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Dec 93 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Government Program for Continuity, Stability, and Development"]

[Text] On 20 December, Prime Minister Designate Peter Boross—as head of government proposed by the president of the republic—submitted the program his government would implement.

"We have completed our political tasks and the change of the economy's structure. In the coming four years, our main goal is to boost the economy."

"Our goal is to establish for all our compatriots the possibility of achieving the most favorable living standards under the circumstances of the region's economic conditions." Jozsef Antall, 8 December 1993.

The introduction to the government program says: Jozsef Antall, the first prime minister of the Hungarian Republic's government freely elected after 40 years, died on 12 December 1993. According to the Constitution, with the death of the prime minister, the government's authority expires and a new government has to be formed. The establishment of the new government was made necessary by the tragic and painful event relating to the prime minister.

The coalition political forces wish to continue the country's governance and take the responsibility that comes with this.

In a political sense, the future government cannot be seen as a new government and this is also expressed by its planned personnel. Therefore, the government program is based on the Antall government's program of national renewal, it wishes to represent its contents and spirit through making it more current and by changing some of its emphases for continuity, stability, and development.

Out of the program of national renewal, most tasks that proportionately fell into the governmental cycle were completed by the previous government. By now, democracy's modern system of institutions has been set up and strengthened, the country's economy has not collapsed in spite of the negative circumstances, and a decisive change has taken place in the ownership structure in favor of private property and to the detriment of state property.

It can be responsibly stated that the foundation of the change of the system has been laid and this process has become irreversible.

Only a few months are left before the general parliamentary elections due in 1994. Through its planned measures, the future government will establish all conditions necessary according to our constitutional order to perform completely lawful and undisturbed elections.

The government of the Hungarian Republic—if it wins Parliament's confidence—wishes to work in the spirit of this government program. Its activities are guided by its commitment to its citizens and the Hungarians of the world.

To implement its program, the government to be formed is asking for Parliament's confidence and the support of the population.

Development of the Economy

The country has a budget for 1994 that was accepted by Parliament. The government periodically oversees the shape of state revenue and expenditure, and, in order to ensure the maintenance of the budget's balance and the possibility of financing it, the government takes the required measures in necessary cases. In 1994, the government will continue the economic legislative preparatory work that was founded by the program of national renewal. In the framework of this, important laws will be discussed on electric energy, gas supply, water management, arable land, forests, customs tariffs, and customs procedures.

In 1994, the government considers it to be its fundamental task to strengthen the foreign financial balance, which is closely linked to improving the economy's ability to adjust.

To strengthen the balance and lay the foundation for lasting economic growth, the government takes firm measures to increase profitable exports.

In the first half of 1994, the government also wishes to deal with the organizational issues of financial institutions. The government continues to attribute special importance to coordinated steps against inflation. Bank and debtor consolidation are the government's most far-reaching economic policy measures in 1994.

In the course of bank and debtor consolidation, the government wishes to achieve the following.

Consolidation uses public funds, therefore, during its implementation, it is a basic requirement to be frugal and public. In the course of consolidation, the state's increased proprietor role is only temporary and the goal is to resolutely continue privatization.

According to the government's view, consolidation that is to be implemented through the state taking on a burden is a one-off program that cannot be repeated. During its implementation, tough market requirements of effectiveness will prevail.

Crisis management affecting industry and agriculture will end with the implementation of the debtor consolidation.

Our Gaining Ground

The government's foreign economic policy and diplomacy is directed at ensuring the best possible conditions

for our country's trade, and helping to reduce the current foreign trade deficit. The removal of restrictions affecting foreign trade is an important goal in 1994. New regulations on equalizing [kiegyenlito] customs procedures will come into force from next year, and the rules on anti-dumping procedures will also be changed at the same time. Bills on customs tariffs and customs procedures will be discussed by Parliament in the near future.

The government attributes special importance to increasing foreign capital investments in Hungary and to increasing the interest of foreign capital.

Responsibility for Workplaces

In 1994, the proportion of the employment and the solidarity fund will change, the resources in the employment fund will increase significantly, which clearly serves the purpose of active employment policy and the creation of new workplaces. Active employment policy puts emphasis on improving the employment possibilities of areas especially struck by unemployment and increasing the employment chances of the long-term unemployed and new graduates.

In order to efficiently handle the regional employment tensions, in addition to decentralizing the employment fund to county level, the government considers it a specially important task to establish regional development capital societies and risk capital societies to help enterprises.

In 1994, the government assigns itself the goal of improving the efficiency of supervising labor affairs and sanctioning the illegal employment of foreigners more strictly.

In 1994, the wage guarantee fund will start to operate, which guarantees that the workers of bankrupt enterprises do not remain—even temporarily—without pay or severance pay. The government will submit the bill on this issue to Parliament at the beginning of 1994.

In 1994, the government will take determined steps to improve conditions for constructing houses and apartments.

Strong Private Economy

The development of the private economy is the basis of political and social stability and it embodies the change of the regime itself. The government is committed to continuing the changeover to a private economy. To implement this, it considers competition as a suitable and acceptable method.

The government's goals for 1994 are the following: Accelerating the transformations and closing them by the end of the first quarter of 1994; privatizing a significant part of the temporary state property by the middle of 1994; broadening sales through the stock market. The government will prepare the amendment of privatization laws. In the case of companies with majority state ownership, the income of leading office-holders and the requirements that can be set for them have to be regulated. The number of offices each person can fulfill has to be limited.

In the privatization of state property, the government gives priority to the domestic acquisition of property.

Broad Strata of Owners

In order to strengthen the private economy and to broaden its social basis, the government continues privatization aimed at the small investor. It is an undoubted fact that the small and medium size enterprises have gained significant ground. In 1994, the government will prepare a new medium-term program for small and medium size enterprises. The major reorganization of ownership that is in progress at the moment can only release constructive forces if the changes are completed in time. It is the government's goal to complete the process of compensation affecting arable land in 1994; the long-term settlement of the issue of handing over assets without compensation (social security, public funds); to accelerate the transformation of cooperatives; and to prepare the law on treasury assets. As a result of all these, the historic process of the reorganization of ownership will be completed, and the economic order based on the determining role of the private economy will be finally confirmed.

State assets are constantly being offered in exchange for compensation notes. So far, some 20 billion forints of state assets have been sold for compensation notes.

Being clearly aware of the danger of anti-social manifestations linked to the upset value system and economic profiteering that are concomitant with economic transformation, the government is determined to act most resolutely against corruption and economic crimes.

Strong and Competitive Agricultural Sector

The transformation of the Hungarian agrarian economy is one of the most important conditions of establishing a modern Hungary and it is the motor of development in the provinces. The program of national renewal set the goal of establishing a healthy agriculture that is able to develop and is based on the determining role of private ownership, and which is suitable for and capable of linking itself into the European economic order.

In order to confirm the already achieved results and to unfold the new course of development, the government intends to speed up the change of the structure and wishes to achieve a situation that is close to completion. For this reason, it is important to start to auction land that is assigned for compensation before the end of the first half of 1994, and to financially support the administrative tasks related to taking possession. It is imperative to modernize legislation relating to cooperatives that form an essential part of modern agriculture. Full legislation on the land ownership system based on private ownership is imminent.

The decentralized privatization of companies operating as legal successors of state farms and the privatization of the food processing industry are priority tasks. During privatization, the emergence of monopoly organizations has to be prevented. The government supports the development of purchasing and marketing cooperatives and gives help to these kinds of cooperatives.

The agrarian economy is an economic priority in the government's budget. In 1994, the sum assigned for supporting agriculture is 20 percent more than in 1993.

The government has various means to influence market conditions. It considers it its task to take market protection measures in accordance with European norms. Complying with its legal obligations, the government introduces market regulations on the most important agricultural products and ensures the organizational framework for intervention purchases.

Directly and indirectly, the government supports the development of infrastructure as part of medium- and long-term programs. In 1994, the government considers infrastructure as a key sector of economic growth whose beneficial effects will be felt in all areas of society.

Telephone for Everyone

The fast development of telephone and mobile telephone systems will make it possible to meet all needs for subscription within six months by 1997.

In 1994, the public road infrastructure will develop significantly. The construction of new highways and roads will be completed or started from entrepreneurial capital: A new section of the M0 highway will be completed to relieve the capital, the M1 section to avoid Gyor will be finished, construction on the M1 and the M25 will begin, and the bids for the M3, M5, and M7 highways will be dealt with. It is of high significance that two new bridges on the Danube are being built.

The Budapest Expo is an outstanding program of infrastructural development that is also important on the long run. In 1994, the government will continue its efforts for successful preparation and effective financing.

For Our Healthy Environment

In 1994, the government wishes to submit the draft environmental protection bill to Parliament. In accordance with its obligations, the government prepares and submits the draft concept of national environmental and nature policy. The government intends to submit to Parliament bills on the protection and change of the built environment and on the protection of historic buildings. In addition to this, it will also prepare a draft bill on nature protection.

Educated People

The government find is specially important that the treasures of the national culture and the ideological world of its great members are given a place befitting their importance in the educational system and in public culture.

Parliament enacted the law on public education in 1993. In connection with this, the government's most important task is to establish the conditions for implementing the law. Within the framework of this, ministerial provisions of law on implementation and the national basic curriculum's basic principles will be drawn up in 1994. The National Public Education Council and the Education Policy Council will start is actual operation.

Legal provisions relating to the implementation of vocational training will be completed within this year.

The fact that the law on higher education came into force in September 1993 established the legal guarantee system for higher education that follows European norms. A national accreditation committee and a higher education and scientific council will be established in the interest of modern direction of higher education, and improving the professional level and quality.

In the past four years, the number of regular students in higher education has increased one and a half times. The government wishes to draw up a new system of admittance.

In the area of culture and the arts, the government is preparing legislation on museums, archives, and libraries.

The National Cultural Foundation will begin its operation. The government will take the necessary measures to duly celebrate the 1,100 anniversary of our settlement here.

In addition to this, completing the structural change of the research and development institutions is the most urgent task in the area of science policy. The government wishes to continue to develop and refine the methods of financing science.

Media and Information

The government continues to strive to create harmony between the freedom of the press and the principle of public service. In the interest of this, it submits a bill that clearly defines the separate responsibilities of the media, the government, and Parliament in the practice of radio and television.

If the bill is accepted then it will also be possible to submit the bill on the printed press.

The first round of giving permission to local radio and television studios will be completed in the near future by granting some 100 permits.

Health and Social Security

Recently, the government submitted several important bills to do with health to Parliament. In the government's view, these bills, or at least the majority of them,

can be discussed and enacted in the first half of 1994, and the government deems this necessary.

By the first half of 1994, the government wishes to draw up a program on the priorities of health care to last until the end of the century which, through changing the financing system, puts emphasis on prevention and the preservation of good health.

In the past period, a fundamental change took place the social security system: Elected local governments head the pension funds and health insurance. Since the local social insurance administrative boards were formed, defining the exact system of cooperation has been a continuous task.

To preserve the value of pensions, the role of private pension funds and private health insurance funds has to increase. It will be wise to draw up the unified support system of church pension funds and the future system of the legal status of church personnel as regards health insurance.

Social, Population, and Housing Policy

In the past three years, considerable progress was made in setting up a welfare protection system. Hopefully, Parliament will discuss and enact the amendment of the law on welfare government and welfare provision, which will make the child-rearing support more favorable.

The government wishes to continue drawing up and operating programs that are to handle crisis situations and that affect certain strata of society and regions that are in a disadvantageous position. Accordingly, we have to continue to set up the institutional system to care for the homeless, to expand the services, and to develop the network.

In the future, the government will continue to introduce temporary measures and actions to alleviate crises.

It is worrying that, even in families that have all economic, social, and cultural conditions for child rearing, not enough children are born in spite of the positive results of the law on the protection of embryos. Therefore, the government considers it justified to take population policy decisions that outline the way out of the current situation.

Churches and Minorities

In 1990, a considerable change began to take place in the situation of churches and religious groups. The return of their confiscated properties and institutions was started. The first results of their free operation can already be seen.

The government continues to rely on the role of churches in carrying historical values and creating new values. The government wishes to continue to return former properties of church communities and it contributes to the fulfillment of their public tasks through standard budgetary support.

Constitution and Legislation

The government continues to deem it timely to create a new constitution for the Hungarian Republic and to begin the preparatory work as soon as possible. On a shorter term, the government's primary obligation is to continuously ensure that laws that are necessary to implement the Constitution in force are prepared and submitted to Parliament.

After the reform of the state structure, which is concomitant with the change of the regime, the program of modernizing public administration, which began in 1992, is being continued with the aim of establishing a modern system of public administration in accordance with democratic values.

The government finds it necessary to utilize the experiences gained from the implementation of the law on local governments and to continue the preparations for amending this law, the direction of which will be determined by respect for the basic values and autonomy of local governments and the interest in a unified and professional operation of the state administration. In connection with this, a suitable system for continuously supervising the economic operation and financial activities of the local governments also has to be set up.

Provision of Justice

In the area of justice, it is an urgent task to newly regulate the implementation of court decisions in a law that will generally settle the implementation of court decisions in accordance with the changed economic and social circumstances, the international expectations, and the requirements of a constitutional state. An independent organ for the enforcement of court decisions has to be established, and the rules on applying the enforcement have to be made more effective.

An overall regulation of the penal procedure is in process, as a result of which a new code will replace the current penal code in 1995. Amending the regulations regarding underaged people is also timely, the goal of which is to fulfill our international obligations and to increase the efficiency of the already existing institutions.

A law has to be made on the legal standing and structural modernization of enforcement of punishment for which preparations have been started.

Foreign Policy, Defense

In the coming period, the government of the Hungarian Republic wishes to maintain the following priorities in foreign policy: Representation of Euro-Atlantic values in the spirit of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and the 1990 Paris Charter is the starting point of our political principles; further promotion of our membership in Euro-Atlantic organizations of integration; through finding historical agreements, the application of regional policy that contributes to establishing a unified

and free Europe; the universal domination and respect for basic rights of freedom and the rights of the national minorities including the Hungarian communities living beyond the border.

In the process of our full integration, with the European agreement that comes into force on 1 February 1994, after the conclusion of the process of ratification, the Hungarian Republic establishes a new type system of relations with the European Union and its member states, which is temporary but which supersedes the quality of our former relations. NATO plays a key role in guaranteeing the security of our region. Hungary continues to strive for full membership.

In the coming period, the CSCE will also have an important role in strengthening European security. Hungary is the host for the CSCE's summit in 1994 and its chairman in 1995.

Because of its universal nature and uniquely widespread sphere of activities, the government considers the United Nations Organization an area of special importance in its foreign politics.

Hungary is interested in its neighbors being democratic countries based on pluralism where European values and human and national minority rights are respected and which can remain to be our important partners through the establishment of market economies. Boosting economic ties is a specially important goal.

Public Order and Public Security

The government pays special attention to measures aimed at maintaining public order and security and that the already seen favorable processes in this area become permanent and strong. All this requires the improvement of the police's personnel and its material conditions. The organization of the police has to be developed in accordance with the demands of public security in the localities. The program to establish the network of police headquarters and local units will continue in the future.

To help efficient fight against organized crime, the various ministries prepare the necessary bills before the overall reform of the penal and procedural law takes place. The government finds it necessary that, within the framework of the law, the relevant authorities efficiently uncover crimes and take determined steps against people who commit economic fraud or crimes of corruption.

Under our circumstances, we have to take care of protecting the state border effectively. In connection with this, in the interest of preventing international transit crimes and compliance with customs regulations, the Customs and Excise Office has significant tasks.

National Minorities

In accordance with our Constitution, the Hungarian government takes responsibility for the fate of the Hungarian minority living beyond our border. It supports demands that correspond to the European norms of human and national minority rights. In the Council of Europe, drawing up a national minority protocol that establishes the possibility to codify national minority rights, to ensure them legally, and to supervise their implementation will have an outstanding importance. The government will do all it can to ensure this work is completed in 1994 and that this result in a qualitative step forward in remedying the legal grievances of national minorities. Until then it expects the Council of Europe to consistently check on the requirements that were drawn up when new members were admitted.

The south Slav crisis severely endangers European stability and Hungary's security. The Hungarian government is determined to keep our country away from the Yugoslav conflict and it strives to lessen the negative effects of the war and of the sanctions.

If asked, Hungary is ready to mediate between the sides to help a settlement and to bring the views closer together. On the basis of mutual interests, we must strive for creating ties and strengthening trust with all the Yugoslav successor states.

The Hungarian Government considers it a basic human right that people be allowed to live and prosper in the places of their birth. It equally condemns the open and hidden forms of "ethnic cleansing." It acts in the interest of no one to be forced to leave his place of living against his will and that people who have been forced away be able to return home as soon as possible. Hungary continues to give refuge and humanitarian aid to the victims of wars and legal violations, regardless of their nationality.

On the basis of the requirements defined in the defense basic principles, transitional and medium-term complex plans have to be drawn up to continue to change the army. The governmental control and the structure and operational order of the Hungarian Army's high level leadership has to be changed in accordance with the requirements of the new defense law and be embedded in the modernization of public administration. The government draws up the legal provisions for implementing the law; on the basis of this, formulates the new system of defense training and national mobilization; establishes the organizational and personal conditions for the Humane Service and the Military Pastoral Service.

Based on the broadest possible social consensus, the government formulates a stable and predictable budget financing system for the armed forces.

Farmers Said To Gain Most From 1994 Budget

WS2712151693 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by P.A.: "Farmers Gained the Most; Government Adopts Amended Draft Budget"—last paragraph attributed to D.E.]

[Text]**As we reported earlier, late Thursday night [23 December] the government adopted a draft budget after two days of debate and arguments. The version adopted by the government deviates by a slight margin from the draft presented by Finance Minister Marek Borowski. An increase of revenue from privatization by 2,000 billion zlotys [Z] was declared possible, but—as we managed to find out—that tends to be rather a result of a measure implemented in the books rather than of a widening of the extent of ownership transformations. Revenue from selling Bank Slaski—both from the portion within a public offer and from the one sold to a Dutch bank called ING—will be listed as revenue for 1994.**

The idea of increasing the excise tax on cigarettes and of devoting the means acquired this way for the health protection system, was not approved. That is because such a measure would first of all require conducting some thorough calculations. An increase in the price of a pack of cigarettes by Z1,000 would be high in the case of cheaper cigarette brands which are smoked most frequently, and it could lead to a decrease in consumption and a resultant decrease of revenue from the excise tax as well. The ministers did not come up with any other new ideas, and they limited themselves to general remarks concerning enforcing income from the economic "grey area." So a positive increase regarding the revenue, amounts to just 0.3 percent of the planned amount which thus increased to Z610,000 billion. Since it was agreed that the budget deficit will remain unchanged, expenditures also increased by Z2,000 billion, up to the level of Z693,000 billion.

In addition, the government decided to decrease the reserve of the Council of Ministers from the level of slightly above Z1,900 billion down to Z400 billion, and the government also changed the purpose of using some financial means in the amount of Z800 billion which was previously specified within goal reserves as being devoted to regional restructuring programs.

This way, slightly over Z4,300 billion was gained for distribution.

A thousand billion zlotys more is to be devoted to subsidies with regard to interest rates on agricultural credits, and the extent of the list of uses of the subsidized credits is to be widened. The Ministry of Finance suggested Z1,500 billion in its draft.

The means at the disposal of the Agricultural Market Agency [Agencja Rynku Rolnego] shall be increased by Z790 billion (Z1,800 billion was planned). The Treasury's Agricultural Property Agency [Agencja Wlasnosci Rolnej Skarbu Panstwa] will receive Z150 billion, and agricultural schools will receive an additional Z60 billion for substantive expenses. All in all, farmers gained Z2,000 billion and this way they became the main beneficiary of the government's two-day session.

The Defense Ministry was given an additional Z800 billion for purchasing domestically produced equipment, while the Justice Ministry was given Z600 billion (among others, this includes salaries for an increased number of judges, as well as some substantive expenses), the Culture Ministry was given slightly over Z100 billion, the Education Ministry was given Z400 billion for higher schools, the Scientific Research Committee was given Z250 billion for research, the Internal Affairs Ministry was given Z150 billion for hiring an extra 1,000 policemen, while athletes will receive Z44 billion to participate in the Olympic Games.

These figures are proof that among those who were efficient, are the prime minister, deputy prime ministers, as well as representatives of strategic ministries.

According to an experienced observer of budget debates, the pressure applied this year by the members of the Council of Ministers on representatives of the Finance Ministry, exceeded the average pressure applied in past years. Ministers Borowski, Chmielak, and Misiag were supported by [Foreign Minister] Andrzej Olechowski and by some ministers heading economic ministries.

Today the government will continue its debate on a part of the budget act entitled "Directions of Privatization in 1994." After the document is approved, the budget will be finally adopted.

Columnist on Prospects for 1994 Budget

WS2712154893 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Dec 93 p 5

[Commentary by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "Social-democratic Budget"]

[Text] The Sejm will act just like the government did: After tough fighting, it will adopt the budget which will be almost identical to a draft submitted by the finance minister. That is why one can evaluate already at this stage what the budget will be like in the end.

It seems that the budget has a few significant characteristic traits. First of all, the real budget revenue will clearly increase, while budget expenditures will increase even more. An increase of the tax burden—imposed mainly on consumers and small companies—not only means decreased income but it could also reduce willingness to invest.

Second, the budget deficit will increase. That means—whether one approves of it or not—upholding persistent inflation and a further increase of the public debt. It seems that the government inflation forecasts are somewhat too optimistic. An increase of the deficit in relation

to the GDP unfortunately means a failure to use the opportunity of the situation that was created this year.

Third, it seems that estimates of the budget revenue are tighter than this past year, budget expenditures (contrary to what individual ministers have said) are excessive, while financing the deficit is not a sure thing. Against this background, one can see clearly a lack of significant changes in the structure of expenditures, not counting those forced by an increased cost of servicing the public debt. Contrary to earlier announcements, the attempt to prepare the budget as part of a three-year plan for improving public finances, failed. It seems that no attempts were made to reduce employment in the government sector which would rationalize part of the expenditures.

One should stress though that it was not possible to prepare fundamental reforms for financing the budget sector and of social insurance in a period of a few weeks, when one keeps in mind that four governments did not achieve much in four years.

The authors of the budget and of the amendments to tax laws which have already been enacted, chose the direction of fiscal pressure, and this way they are continuing a process begun by the previous government. Taking into account the inflation level which is still relatively high and which is a factor objectively discouraging investment, the optimistic forecasts of economic development next year have to be put into question. This is even more so since support by foreign private capital will be limited when one takes into account Eastern Europe's instability, the unfinished negotiations with the London Club, and the uncertain future of privatization.

So a budget was created which is socialdemocratic and favoring state control, and from that standpoint it is similar to this year's budget. At the same time though, it is a kind of budget under which there should not occur a disaster in public finances within the next 12 months, nor should there be a sudden inflation increase, a suspension of the convertibility of foreign currencies, or other phenomena that one could expect as early as during the election period.

It seems that the Finance Ministry should now be trying to secure the appropriate conditions for implementing the budget, that is to say financial discipline in the economy, discipline in incurring obligations by budget-financed units, and so forth. There will be a problem in counteracting the negative effects of promises made to lessen the debt burden in the budget sector and in companies, and in counteracting negative effects of lifting the tax on excessive salary increases [popiwek]. But enforcing the deputies' loyalty toward a budget prepared by their government, should be largely left by financial experts to party leaders.

Redistributing financial means through the state budget is not an efficient way of using financial means worked for by citizens. But the elections decided in favor of parties that think otherwise. That does not change the fact that those means can in every case be utilized in a better or worse manner, or—as skeptics would say—they can be wasted to a greater or lesser extent. The Finance Ministry should also focus its attention on that issue.

Cabinet Defends $4-Billion Deficit

LD2712212593 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 27—At its last session before the Christmas break, the Polish Cabinet approved an austerity budget which is seeking to hold the upper limit of the budget deficit at 83 trillion zlotys (4.1 billion dollars).

Several of the heads of the major spending ministries, including Labour, Health, Defence and Internal Affairs, publicly expressed their opposition to the budget put forward by Finance Minister Marek Borowski, which slated budget revenues of 610 trillion zlotys, against outgoings of 693 trillion zlotys. However, Borowski's assertion that he would treat rejection of the budget as a personal vote of no-confidence seems for the moment to have won the argument, and the draft budget approved by the Cabinet differs only in detail from that put forward by the finance minister.

Under the proposals approved by the Cabinet, which must be presented to parliament by December 29, the deficit proposed by the Finance Ministry will remain unchanged, with a proposed increase of 2 trillion zlotys in budget outgoings being matched by an equivalent increase in revenue from privatisations.

If the ceiling of 83 trillion zlotys is adhered to, it will represent 4.2 percent of gdp, comfortably within the 5-percent maximum imposed on Poland by international financial institutions.

The government proposals envisage a creeping-peg devaluation of the Polish zloty by 1.6 percent a month during 1994, with incomes rising in real terms by around 2 percent.

The main source of budget revenues in 1994, accounting for 235 trillion zlotys of the planned 610 trillion zlotys, will be value added tax and excise duties. Personal income tax will account for 157 trillion zlotys.

Of the outgoings, just over half (359.6 trillion zlotys) is to be allocated to the public sector, with 141 trillion zlotys made available for public security. Some 100.8 trillion zlotys is to be allocated for internal debt-servicing (up from 61 trillion zlotys), and around 30 trillion zlotys to finance Poland's external debt.

Under the budget law, average industrial earnings are forecast to reach 5 million zlotys (around 250 dollars), while the highest levels for old-age and disability pensions will be increased to 39 percent of average earnings.

Among significant price increases planned under the budget for 1994 are a 130-percent increase in housing costs from July 1994, and significant rises in energy and fuel bills.

EBRD Finances Privatization Programs

LD2712201193 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 27—European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) will outlay 850 million dollars to finance the privatization and reconstruction of Polish enterprises and financial institutions next year, according to Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Poland's representative at the bank.

Bielecki, who met with Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek on Monday, said that "we want to find programmes that on the one hand would support the policy of the privatization minister (...) and on the other, would not collide with the principles of the bank's financial activity".

Bielecki and Kaczmarek discussed, among other things, a project to establish a fund managing some 180-200 enterprises which are in a bad financial situation.

Kaczmarek explained that the fund's task would be, first, to improve the condition of these enterprises and next, to prepare their privatization. The latter should take place five years after the enterprises are taken over by the fund, the privatization minister added.

Finance Minister Comments on Privatization

LD2712215293 Warsaw PAP in English 2142 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 27—The document "The directions of privatisation for 1994," forwarded to the Polish Cabinet for consideration, is "very general, outlining only the government's privatisation priorities," Finance Minister Marek Borowski said on Monday.

Borowski added that the government was not prepared to name individual companies, or industrial branches, as suitable for privatisation, "so as to avoid the possibility of the government being held to account for the realisation of the document."

Privatisation Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek noted that the document differed only slightly in its priorities from the version discussed by the Cabinet economic committee before Christmas. He noted also that the revised 1994 draft budget envisaged that revenues from privatisation would total 12.3 trillion zlotys (about 600 million dollars), compared with the original target of 10.3 trillion zlotys.

National Unity Bloc Requests Five Portfolios

AU2812065093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Today at Cotroceni Palace President Ion Iliescu held talks with leaders of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR]. After their three-hour talks, which began at 1005, PDAR Chairman Victor Surdu, answering journalists' questions, stated that the party that he leads appreciates the intentions of the head of state to achieve a political pact, and that during their talks they approached almost every problem that currently faces Romanian agriculture.

After pointing out that during today's talks the PDAR expressed views that are also shared by the National Romanian Unity Party [PUNR], Surdu said that the National Unity Bloc [BUN—political alliance set up by the PDAR and the PUNR] is prepared to participate in a reshuffled government in which it will request five ministerial portfolios, and that the replacement of the current prime minister might not be absolutely necessary. If no government reshuffle takes place, in the period between 1-5 February 1994 BUN will put forward a censure motion in parliament.

Surdu also said that in his opinion President Iliescu wishes more than ever that inter-party dialogue should result in working out concrete solutions.

We would like to recall that later today President Iliescu is scheduled to meet with representatives of the Democratic Party—National Salvation Front and those of the Romanian Social-Democratic Party, our correspondent, Sorin Croitorescu, reports.

PNTCD 'In No Hurry' For Talks on Coalition

AU2812065293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], said today at his party's weekly news conference that the political grouping that he heads will not enter into separate negotiations on the formation of a new government. It will only engage into such negotiations together with and on behalf of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. At the same time, he said that the PNTCD is in no hurry and will only go to Cotroceni [presidential palace] after a decision has been taken by the leadership of his party and the CDR. The PNTCD leader and the other leaders present at the news conference—Messrs. Ion Diaconescu, Ion Ratiu, Valentin Gabrielescu, and Radu Vasile—pointed to the inefficiency of the current government and to the present blocking of the reform process and emphasized that the PNTCD is ready to assume responsibility for taking the country out of the crisis. However, he said that the PNTCD will only participate in a new government team if it holds the necessary levers for implementing its own program of reform and democratization.

This report was sent to us by our correspondent Elena Perdichi.

Roman Favors CDR-PDSR 'Political Pact'

AU2812074493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1858 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/12/1993—"We are not particularly preoccupied to participate in the government," said Petre Roman, leader of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD(FSN)] at the close of the dialogue at Cotroceni between Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, and a representative delegation of the party. He assessed that "the PD(FSN) might stand for a bridge between the Democratic Convention [CDR], with which we have cooperative relations, and the Party of Social Democracy of Romania [PDSR], which was once our partner and with which we are now in relations of too much unfriendliness, which is out of place in a democratic society."

Petre Roman concluded that the PD(FSN) sustained the idea of a political pact, even if the initiative was "a first, rather shy step" toward a "national pact," an idea launched by that party one month ago. The PD(FSN) leader believed that "the national pact might be a viable formula only to the extent to which people could be answered several simple yet fundamental questions," one of them being Romania's integration in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures.

In that respect, Petre Roman showed obvious interest in the forthcoming meeting of prime ministers of the NATO countries, due on January 10 in Brussels, that will discuss the enlargement of the North Atlantic pact. The PD(FSN) leader recalled that "for the time being the situation is not to Romania's advantage, because they insistently talk there of a first batch of three formerly communist countries—which does not include Romania—that would be entitled to join the NATO." Stressing that "Romania's national security greatly depends on this decision," Petre Roman termed that matter as "extremely important," so it had to be discussed during the negotiations at Cotroceni with President Ion Iliescu.

Greater Romania Warns Against Coalition Plan

AU2812084493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1626 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/12/1993—The Greater Romania Party (PRM) expressed in a communique of the PRM Steering Committee and published by the weekly POLITICA its position against a possible alliance between the Party of Social Democracy (PDSR) and the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party (PNTCD). The PRM harshly condemned President Ion Iliescu's alleged role in this planned coalition.

"The PRM considers as impossible an executive team formed by the PDSR and the PNTCD. These two parties

cannot form the government because they have nothing in common. Differences between them are huge," the communique reads.

With regard to President Iliescu's consultations with political parties, which started on Monday December 27, the communique reads: "We hope that Mr. President intends a real dialogue followed by concrete actions leading to a rise of the living standard of the population and not to pleasing the greed for power of some politicians who had been rejected by the electorate and without any credit among citizens. The PRM considers that these consultations must start from one evidence: the deeds of Premier Vacaroiu and of his government team which are in most respects good and reform- oriented."

PRM leader Corneliu Vadim Tudor addresses some words to President Iliescu in the said daily: "You have used us and now you are ashamed with us as if we were outcasts. Be that the case, why should you consult us anyway? Only to check an entry and to show to the public opinion that you are unbiased?... Do you believe that the loathsome coalition will be validated by the parliament, that the would-be ministers will receive enough votes, not only from the shunned parties but especially from the party which supported you in the elections and which you now betray in a gracious spinning?"

PRM President C.V. Tudor ends his address to President Iliescu in a threatening tone: "Mr. President, mistakes in politics are expensively paid for, sometimes with the head. There is one thing that you can be sure of: If you make this huge gaffe, too, the PRM will immediately enter the opposition and maybe you do not know what an opposition we know to make."

Party Leaders Assess Talks With Iliescu

AU2812100493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] President Iliescu's last meeting yesterday was with a delegation of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR]. The meeting ended late last night.

Following the talks, the PDSR president, Mr. Oliviu Gherman, described the consultations as an appraisal of the current stage. He also said that the idea of a political pact is essential, but that no conclusions could be drawn until the end of the consultations.

Mr. Adrian Nastase, PDSR executive president, expressing his opinion in a press statement, said this political pact should establish certain essential elements such as respect for the Constitution, observance of the republican formula for the organization of the state, and the impossibility of accepting the principle of full restitution of property.

Regarding a new government formula, Mr. Nastase said that no offer for negotiations has been made yet. He also said that the memorandum of understanding with the IMF, which the government had submitted to parliament yesterday for priority examination, was also discussed.

Peace Talks Reportedly To Resume 18 Jan

LD2812125193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Geneva, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The resumption of the peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be on 15 January, as Lord Owen said in Brussels recently, but on 18 January, TANJUG has learned from well-informed diplomatic circles at Geneva's Palais des Nations.

The same sources claim that the change in the date for the peace conference on Bosnia came about so that the talks would not be held at the same time as the meeting between U.S. President Bill Clinton and Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, who will meet in Geneva 15-17 January.

Diplomatic sources stress that the international conference on the former Yugoslavia will inform the participants in the peace talks on Bosnia about the change in the date for the conference in the next few days.

UN Blames Army for Provoking Sarajevo Shelling

AU2812130693 Paris AFP in English 1249 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Dec 28 (AFP)—The United Nations on Tuesday blamed the Moslem-dominated Bosnian Army for sparking an unprecedented Bosnian Serb artillery barrage on Sarajevo by launching an assault on a Serb-held district. The charge came as the UN investigated Bosnian Croat accusations that government forces had committed atrocities in central Bosnia.

Serb gunners fired 680 shells in a one-hour blitz of government controlled areas of the capital Sunday after Bosnian forces attacked the Grbavica district in downtown Sarajevo, said UN Protection Force [UN Protection Force] spokesman Major Idesbald van Biesebroeck.

Bosnian troops fired 120 shells into Serb-held areas of the city, killing one and wounding five, but the massive Serb barrage killed four people and wounded 53 others in government-held parts of the city, van Biesebroeck said. UNPROFOR said there had been no noticeable change in the frontlines following the Bosnian assault.

Sarajevo was quiet Tuesday, the spokesman said, with heavy artillery fire restricted to the surrounding heights. The heavy fighting during the festive season made a mockery of a Christmas and New Year's truce agreed by all warring parties throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. The truce officially ends January 15.

Although there had been an "increase in the shelling" Monday, van Biesebroeck said it had not reached last week's levels when some 1,500 Serb shells fell on the capital daily. Government troops and Serb forces also clashed in the Olovo, Kalesija and Dastansko areas in central Bosnia, where heavy artillery rounds were being fired, he said.

In Mostar, in southern Bosnia-Hercegovia, Bosnian Croat forces continued their shelling of the Bosnian army-held eastern sector of the shattered city, though the barrages was reported less intense. Heavy machinegun and small arms fire were exchanged on the front lines all day Monday, UNPROFOR said.

Central Bosnia was reportedly "relatively quiet" but small arms fire continued in the Vitez and Novi Travnik areas, the spokesman added. [passage omitted]

Bihac Court Issues Arrest Warrant for Abdic

AU2712200693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] After the Bihac High Court ordered that an arrest warrant be issued against Fikret Abdic for the criminal act of abuse of position and authority, the investigating judge of the regional military court in Bihac has issued an arrest warrant for Fikret Abdic.

This arrest warrant has been issued in accordance with the criminal act of attacking the constitutional organization from Article 114, in connection with Article 139, Paragraph 3 of the Criminal Law of the Former Yugoslavia, which has been legally adopted and implemented as the republic's Law on the Criminal Act of Armed Rebellion from Article 124, Paragraph 2, in connection with Article 39 of the Criminal Law of the Former Yugoslavia, which has been legally adopted and implemented as the republic's law. [sentence as heard]

Based on the demand by the regional military prosecutor in Bihac, the investigating judge of the regional military court has also ordered that Fikret Abdic be sentenced to 30 days detention, starting with the day of arrest, intended for his questioning. The order for the issuance of the arrest warrant and the detention of Fikret Abdic has been submitted to the Bihac Security Services Center to be carried out.

5th Corps Deals Abdic Forces 'Complete Defeat'

AU2712200593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] In the latest attacks on the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps in the region of Skokovi and (Kakic), Fikret Abdic's forces have suffered a complete defeat, says the statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army press center. The remaining forces have been scattered in the area of Pecka Brda and Todorovo, so they have no choice but to surrender.

The authorities of the so-called autonomous province of western Bosnia are relying more and more on the help of the Serb aggressor. In the latest attacks, some units of the Kordun Corps of the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina took part in the fighting on the side of the secessionists. The fact that Fikret Abdic and his followers are cooperating with the aggressor against Bosnia-Herzegovina and his aides has been confirmed by Zlatko Jusic, prime minister of the self-proclaimed autonomous province of western Bosnia, who says that the autonomous

province of western Bosnia depends on the military and economic cooperation with the Serb and Croat sides.

Fikret Abdic himself told Pale Television correspondent Veljko Babic that the reality was that he was working with both republics—the Serb republic and the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna.

HVO Units Repel Muslim Attack on Vitez

LD2812105093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] The Muslim army attempted to break through Croat Defense Council [HVO] defense lines near Vitez at 0600 this morning, HINA [Croatian news agency] correspondents report from this town. The HVO command has announced that the area attacked was Krcevine, northeast of the town. This Muslim army infantry attack was smashed without casualties in the HVO ranks. After this the Muslim army began to shell the general area of Jardol on the northeastern approaches to Vitez.

Muslims Continue Attacks on Serbs Around Doboj

LD2812095393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0904 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Doboj, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Muslim formations continued their attacks against Serb positions and settlements on battlefields throughout the Doboj region, the Doboj operational group of the army of the republic of Srpska announced today.

The fiercest battles were fought southwest of Maglaj, where Muslim forces from (Nekolje) and (Cehajic) directed intense fire from light weapons and 82-mm mortars on Serb defensive positions in the region of Lijesnica and along the Maglaj-Zepce line.

On the Ozren front, Muslim units fired mainly on settlements below Mt. Ozren in the Spreca river valley using light weapons and antiaircraft guns, and there were also intense provocations on the Teslic battlefield. Only occasional provocations of no consequence were registered on the Doboj and (Trebavo) front.

Muslims Reportedly Hang, Crucify Croat Captives

LD2712172993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] The Muslim army has committed yet another crime in central Bosnia. In the village of Krizancevo, near Vitez, as the Herceg-Bosna ministry of defense has announced, the Muslims yesterday hanged a number of captured Croats and crucified a number of others. The Croatian Defense Council, the statement goes on to say, has a video recording of the crime. The UN Protection Force has also been informed about the crime but its representatives refused to enter the village, the same source has said.

Granic Urges EU To Exert Influence on Muslims

LD2712190893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Mate Granic, minister for foreign affairs and vice president of the government of the Republic of Croatia, has sent a letter to the ministers for foreign affairs of the member-countries of the European Union. In it he informs them about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and draws their attention to an offensive launched by Muslim formations on the remaining Croat enclaves in central Bosnia and to the possible consequences of this offensive.

In his letter, Mate Granic points out that a continuation of the merciless Muslim offensive in central Bosnia might easily lead to a wider Croat-Muslim conflict and result in unforeseeable and grave consequences. It is increasingly evident that the Muslim leadership have opted for war rather than a lasting peace or any kind of just settlement which would pave the way for future cooperation between the two peoples and bring stability to this wartorn region.

This attitude which has recently been presented by the Muslim leadership means, unless it is immediately changed, that there is no real partner in peace negotiations. This might eventually force us to even examine and evaluate our policies afresh, as well as to seriously reconsider or withdraw the proposals we have already tabled with the Muslim side.

Being fully aware of all the damaging consequences of such a tragic—albeit perhaps inevitable—move, I resolutely call on you not to spare any effort and to exercise all your influence on the Muslim side to make it immediately and unconditionally put an end to its offensive in central Bosnia.

Resolute and energetic action on your part would in all probability prevent an even greater tragedy for every participant and create preconditions for achieving a sound and lasting solution and peace, Mate Granic writes in his letter.

Tudjman Stresses Unity of State, Army

LD2712182193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Republic of Croatia President Franjo Tudjman has held a Christmas and New Year reception at the Presidential Palace for top-level officials of the Croatian Defense Ministry and armed forces.

President Tudjman said in his speech that the current international situation does yet not permit the final integration of Croatian territories under UN supervision into the legal and economic system of the Republic of Croatia. We are trying to realize this by peaceful, political means, he stressed, as required by the international community, but it is also our duty to prepare Croatia's Armed Forces to liberate every square inch of Croatian soil themselves at any moment if need be.

The president further said that there can be no discrepancies between the views of the Croatian Armed Forces and Croatia's state policies. This must be ensured by all political and other departments belonging to the system of the Croatian Defense Ministry and armed forces. There must be neither leftist nor rightist tendencies in the Croatian Army because Croatia has opted for a democratic orientation, President Tudjman said. He appealed to the members of Croatia's Army to prevent all provocations that hamper the development of democracy in Croatia.

By developing its political system and relying on its own resources, Croatia has even won the respect of hitherto unfavorably disposed international factors, President Tudjman said and added that Croatia has surmounted great economic hardships without being granted foreign loans.

It is in our interest to end the crisis peacefully and without casualties in order to concentrate on economic development to the benefit of every citizen, President Tudjman concluded and wished all members of the Croatian Defense Ministry and armed forces a happy and fruitful new year.

The president was thanked for his best wishes on behalf of all those present and all members of the Croatian Armed Forces by Defense Minister Gojko Susak, who stressed that the Croatian Army will fulfill all tasks assigned to it by the head of state.

UNPROFOR: Truce Holding in Krajina

AU2812122293 Paris AFP in English 1159 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 28 (AFP)—A Christmas and New Year truce between the Croatian army and rebel Croatian Serbs was largely respected, the commander of UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia said Tuesday. However, breaches in the south of the breakaway Krajina region "did not augur well for the near future" said UNPROFOR's General Jean Cot in a statement released here. The December 24 to January 15 truce was "generally respected" said Cot, adding that the "situation was relatively calm ... the number of violations of the cease-fire having considerably diminished." But Cot said breaches of the truce in the Licki Osik, Benkovac, Miranje, Novi Grad and Smilcic areas were a cause for concern.

Croatian officials are due to meet Serb representatives Thursday at an UNPROFOR-mediated encounter at Turanj, 50 kilometres (around 30 miles) from Zagreb. Cot said he hoped the meeting would do more than "note new breaches of the Christmas truce." A further meeting, set for January 13, aimed to secure a durable ceasefire in the region, he added. Rebel Serbs, aided by the Serbian-dominated former Yugoslav National Army,

seized around a quarter of Croatia's territory after Zagreb declared independence from the disintegrating Yugoslavia in 1991.

Government Condemns Bombing of Orthodox Church

LD2812133393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpts] In connection with the destruction of the upper Karlovac Orthodox Eparchy residence by a bomb on 25 December, the Croatian Government has issued a statement condemning this crime in the sharpest terms.

As soon as it was informed of the bombing, the government ordered the competent state authorities to carry out a thorough investigation, find the perpetrators, and bring charges against them. [passage omitted]

The government will do everything, even in these very difficult and complex times, to see that the law is applied and that every violation of the law, willful or criminal act, is punished appropriately. Such acts, which are attempts to destabilize Croatia internationally and cause it political damage, reveal the intentions of those who carried out this terrorist crime. The government demands a rapid and effective investigation and will inform the public about its findings in good time.

Speculation on Replacing Boban Viewed

AU2812122693 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 93 p 5

[Article by Sanja Modric: "Is Mate Boban Leaving?"]

[Text] The high political lobbies in Croatia and interested foreign countries have for almost two weeks been whispering exclusive news: Mate Boban, president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, has become out of date.

We have used this imprecise formulation because the "well-informed" emit not only unofficial and unreliable, but also very different information. What they all amount to is that the small-caliber statesman Mate Boban has, obediently playing second fiddle in the establishment and defense of the Croatian cause on the Bosnia-Herzegovina ground, dangerously slippery and destroyed by war, has begun to disturb the interests of sister Croatia. The interpretation is that the allegedly certain end of Boban's political career in the present position is one of the concessions that the top authorities of Croatia have to make to at least six sides.

It is believed that among those who should be anesthetized and won over as allies are primarily the international community, then the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina whose homes are outside Boban's republics, then the very discontent Catholic Church, the divided HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], the increasingly loud opposition in Croatia, and, finally, the Muslims. There have been claims that a proof that Boban is leaving (some even say that he is going to be put away in Australia!?) is the recent establishment of a collective body of authority in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, which, with General Roso, may take over Boban's duties.

The World Has Had Enough of the War in the Balkans

When, in this combination, it comes to the judgments of the world powers, there is no doubt that the current policies of Tudjman's Presidential Palace at Pantovcak [part of Zagreb] seem worse than ever, and whether they will ask for Boban's head as satisfaction is yet to be seen. At any rate, the international community's abomination of Croatian politics from Zagreb was very clearly and decisively demonstrated after the Croat-Muslim conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina escalated, and the intensity was all the greater because President Tudjman failed to allay the already strong suspicion of his present partnership with Milosevic in the efforts to satisfy the appetites of Serbia and Croatia, or, as has been euphemistically explained, to "forever resolve the Croat-Serb relations" through the actual amputation of over 80 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Though they wanted and initiated too little to cut the umbilical cord of the Greater Serbian assault, the influential and formal foreign powers, especially the European ones, have had enough of warriors' trumpets and destruction in their neighborhood. Their hair stands on end at the mere mention of the Balkans, and, nota bene, not only because the putrefaction of the disintegrated former Yugoslavia does not smell of civilization, order, and prudence, but also because this entire bloody performance has cost them quite a lot, too. Just as they put their trump cards on the effects of the sanctions in Serbia and Montenegro, convincing themselves more than the victims that the blockade would awaken Serbia from the dream about a great state on other people's territories (which has been shown by the elections in Serbia and the "Krajina" as an evidently wrong forecast), the whirl of the warriors' passions starts on the other end of the anti-Milosevic defense coalition—between the Croats and the Muslims. The victims that were recognized too late began to resemble the aggressor that was recognized too late. The formula was twisted. The excuses that the foreign power-wielders had to seek before the public in their countries became dubious and less convincing. The slaughter continued. Bosnia-Herzegovina, recognized at the highest international level, disintegrated because nothing could be done, while Milosevic ceased to be the only one tearing the flesh off Bosnia-Herzegovina. He was openly joined by Tudjman and Boban, and the annexation of Herzegovina, which the Croatian side had kept quiet about at least publicly, became the topic of the day in Croatia and in Boban's republic—"nationalized," accompanied by the political shrugging of the shoulders: "We cannot preserve the unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina, can we?", or "Do we have any other choice?"

In the palliative of the topical peace initiatives pouring in from everywhere, and with the clear indications that, in Geneva and Brussels, Europe wants to impose a

definitive Christmas agreement between the warring sides and interests in the ex-Yugoslavia—it is said that everyone will be asked to give so that they could be given peace in return. It would therefore not be surprising if Croatia, in the same package with access to the Croatian sea for the Muslims and the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is asked somewhere behind the diplomatic screen to remove Mate Boban as a metaphor of the former Croat politics.

Bosnian Croats Against "Governor" Boban

It seems that the ritual sacrifice of Boban (or his resignation?) could encourage the Croats from central Bosnia and from Bosnian Posavina, who are bitter opponents of Zagreb's fascination with the little Croat state in Herzegovina. Expelled and displaced, or abandoned and terrorized in the rare Croat enclaves, they are at present among the fiercest challengers of the policies of Grude and "governor" Boban, and it is hard for anyone to present a convincing argument against their feeling of being betrayed and sold by Tudjman and Boban. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats outside Boban's state decided to play a hard game against the Croat policies in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the suffering they had gone through, as well as to do everything possible to reestablish the alliance with the Muslims, which was evident after the Congress of the Croats of Bosnian Posavina on Saturday, the establishment of the province of Bosnian Posavina, and the decisive ban on signing any documents that would decide the future of that area. Moreover, a similar congress of the Croats of central Bosnia has been announced. Since it seems that the Bosnian Croats have been working on getting politically conscious and organized, it is logical to assume that President Tudjman finds this clear, too. He must therefore acquire allies for any plans in and about Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the light of such a conclusion, removing Boban would be a fine pledge of goodwill.

Franciscans Do Not Like Grude

The Catholic Church, which in Bosnia-Herzegovina is embodied in Bosnian Franciscans, would also gain a certain political satisfaction from Boban's replacement. That is, it is known that the Franciscans do not relate well to the present idea of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. The relations are so severely strained that the most prominent Franciscan dignitaries prefer to appear in public with the officials of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency to appearing with the statesmen from Grude. In the recent interview that the Croatian Television conducted with a Franciscan from Grude for 'Slikom Na Sliku' [a Croatian Television program], the host was so embarrassed at the criticism the guest had made concerning Herzegovinian politics, that he simply cried out: "Let us not end the program on this note!" If it is known that the Holy See gives absolute support to the Bosnian Franciscans, who have always offered not only consolation but also a clear and humane direction to their wretched parishioners, then there is no doubt that the key task for the Croatian president is to warm up the frozen relations. This can be supported by the fact that Tudjman has recently on several occasions received Dr. Komsic, claimed by certain people to be extremely favored by the Catholic Church as a wise politician.

Not Only the Fundamentalists Are To Blame

In the whirl of all these presumptions that the rumors of Boban's leaving make quite logical, the exclusively domestic, Croatian reasons should also be mentioned. That is, it is not only the opposition that is decisive and increasingly loud in claiming that the policies of the Croatian authorities toward Bosnia-Herzegovina are a failure and that they lead to no good, but a certain number of the HDZ representatives have become increasingly inclined toward joining them in this opinion. Though ostensible HDZ unity is still kept by party discipline, Tudjman has undoubtedly borne the brunt of the criticism heard at the past sessions of the Croatian Parliament concerning Boban and "Bobanovina" [a pun on 'Banovina'], the equating of guilt, the indirect Croat "consent" to the greater Serbian conquests and the creation of greater Serbia, and the fear that Croatia would be punished in terms of its own borders because of Tudjman's cooperativeness with Milosevic and the HVO's with Karadzic's formations. However, the parliament lobbies, as an unmistakable barometer of the disposition of the party in power, have indicated that, if the stubborn policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina continues, it is only a matter of time before certain HDZ representatives lose patience, that is, before the moral feeling of responsibility overcomes party obedience. It could therefore happen that one day, and it is sure to happen at a bad time, the unstable unanimity of the party in power may break at the most rational, nominally foreign political, issue with which Croatia has been struggling. This danger is all the greater because some of the HDZ members admit that the Croats outside Herceg-Bosna have remained unprotected, and they sincerely and openly abhor the tragic events at Ahmici and Stupni Do and the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar. They, as well as some of the loud members of the opposition, emphasize that there is no excuse for crime, and that they are ashamed when the Croats do the same things that the Serbian aggressor horde used to do to the Croats and Muslims. The attitude toward Boban that is arising in Croatia, too, can also be seen from the negative and derisory attitude of our people toward Boban's transparent advertising machine, headed by the TV propagandist Smiljko Sagolj.

The End of a Career

Let us, finally, remind the reader that "peace with the Muslims" is the leitmotif of absolutely every verbal political public appearance in Croatia, but, instead of peace, the situation on Bosnian territory only witnesses new war operations. Some members of the opposition will say that the Croat-Muslim war was created and that not only the Muslim fundamentalists are to blame for it, but also the leaders of Herceg-Bosna—primarily Mate Boban. The Bosnian Croats increasingly support this

position. We have lately heard an interesting claim from Tvrtko Maracic, the man whom the displaced Croats from the Kakanj area chose as their representative. He said that it would be easier to establish good relations between the Croats and Muslims if Mate Boban were "removed" and replaced by someone like Stjepan Kljuic. Therefore, if the Croatian leadership wants alliance with the Muslims, on which the international community insists, and without which the victory of the Serbian aggressor in Bosnia-Herzegovina is quite certain, then removing Mate Boban from office could be the first public gesture of Croat intentions.

The London TIMES has recently supported such speculations, reporting secret negotiations between the Croats and Muslims in Ankara and Istanbul, mediated by US congressman Frank McCloskey, and at which a permanent Croat-Muslim alliance has allegedly been signed already. The paper claims that this will mean a change in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and quotes the spokesman of the Bosnian Information Center in London, Mirza Hajric. According to THE TIMES, Hajric hopes that the war is "practically over" and announces that the two sides will publish the contents of the agreement "maybe as early as today".

The sources spreading the rumors about Boban's resignation say that this has been required from Croatia because many have no doubt as to who made a high-ranking and statesmanlike political persona out of a completely anonymous peasant Herzegovinian from Sovici near Grude, within the borders of the poor state of Bosnia-Herzegovina of which it is still unclear whether it is an emerging or a disappearing country, despite international recognition.

The speculations about Boban's end as politician and statesman, woven under the level of official information and the media, seem not to be insane, and the fact that Mate Boban is at the moment somewhere between Geneva and Brussels, participating at the new round of negotiations within the London Conference along with President Tudjman, does not disprove them either. Some reporters have recently established that Boban has already been replaced, which they may have derived from the fact that Boban did not take part in the secret negotiations in Belgrade, as the Croat side was represented by Hrvoje Sarinic and Mile Akmadzic. There are many indications that Boban's end is really near. His brilliant career has certainly surpassed his abilities, and it seems that those who used him as a lightning rod against their own moves have finally used him up.

Nevertheless, it should be said that Boban should not be replaced if there is no intention to change policies. This will soon be "seen through," and Croatia has neither much time nor room for maneuver.

Federal

Special Tax on Travelers Explained

LD2812101693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0923 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—At today's session (presided over by Radoje Kontic), the federal government approved a decision on the payment of a special tax on people leaving the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This stipulates that from Friday, 31 December, all Yugoslav citizens travelling abroad will pay a tax of 10 German marks [DM], and if they go by car with a Yugoslav registration plate they will pay an additional DM30 per vehicle, the Federal Ministry for Information has announced.

Citizens travelling to the republic of Srpska and to the republic of Serb Krajina are exempt from paying the special tax, as are those who go abroad for medical treatment and those accompanying them—something which is proven by special permission from the competent authorities in the republic. [passage omitted]

The government has introduced the payment of a special tax because of the increased humanitarian needs of the country and its inability, as a result of the sanctions, to secure through exports, the necessary foreign currency for the purchase of medicines and other humanitarian goods needed by citizens and refugees in the FRY, the statement by the Federal Ministry for Information says in conclusion.

Strict Control Over Food to Montenegro Continues

AU2712132793 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 93 p 24

[Z.P.-attributed report: "Crossing of the Border by Permission Only"]

[Text] Prijepolje—Several dozens of trucks waiting to enter Montenegro have been waiting at the border point between Serbia and Montenegro in the town of Kolovrat near Prijepolje for seven days already. In this way, a real little trade war, which has been going on between the two Yugoslav federal units over the last few months with varying intensity, continues.

The haulers from several Montenegrin towns, loaded with corn, cattle food, and other produce are persistently waiting for permission to continue toward their destination. An intervention by a director of Bjelo Polje company Transservis to let his 12 trucks pass produced no results. According to Dragan Gojak, trade inspector from Prijepolje, the Serbian Government decree, which restricts export of the strategic goods to Montenegro, remains in force. Without the permission of the republican Ministry of Trade and Tourism, he says, nobody can cross the border. Permission is needed for some 20 goods, among which are wheat, corn, meat, as well as others.

Trade inspectors on the border are being assisted by the members of the Serbian Internal Affairs Ministry, who work around the clock every day. According to the duty officer in Prijepolje police station, the current situation is under control and without incidents.

Both sides are dissatisfied. The Montenegrins believe that this is a unique form of political pressure on them, while on the other side of the border people increasingly frequently point out that foodstuffs are being exported to Albania and even to Croatia.

Negotiators Disappointed Over Geneva Talks

94AE0054A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 19 Dec 93 p 8

[Article by Jamil Rufa'il in Skopje and Eyup Stetkovic in Belgrade; place and date not given: "Senior Official on the Negotiating Team of the Government of Bosnia Interviewed by AL-HAYAH"]

[Text] While the parties involved in the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem get ready to resume their talks in Geneva Tuesday and in Brussels Wednesday, a prominent member of the Bosnian government delegation told AL-HAYAH that he was "not optimistic that an agreement that would lead to peace will be reached in this round."

This pessimism was reinforced by a statement made by Haris Silajdic, the Bosnian minister of foreign affairs, after his talks in Vienna the day before yesterday with Lord David Owen and Thorvald Staltenberg, the two mediators for peace. Silajdic said, "So far, no progress has been achieved." He said that Bosnia's government and parliament might not endorse the peace agreement unless Muslims are offered more of the land, which is controlled at the present time by Serbs and Croats.

The two mediators met subsequently in an isolated villa in north Belgrade with Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian president; with Radovan Karadzic; and with Hrvoje Sarinic and Mile Akmedzic, the two Croat leaders. Political sources in Belgrade indicated that Bosnian Serbs "would agree in Geneva next Tuesday to turn over more land to Muslims."

In an exclusive statement given to AL-HAYAH on the telephone from his office in Bern, Dr. Mohamed Filipovic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation and Bosnia's ambassador to Switzerland, indicated that the Bosnian delegation agreed to attend the talks in Geneva and Brussels "after being persistently urged by Europeans who want to report reassuring news to the world before the end of this year."

Filipovic said, "According to the preliminary information I have, the Bosnian parties will sign a document

drafted as a declaration of principles. Implementation of the contents of that document will have to be looked into in detail at a later time, particularly those items which have to do with the geographical dimension."

Filipovic does not expect this document to achieve significant success because getting "the signature of the Bosnian delegation on this document will be contingent upon going back to the parliament in Bosnia-Herzegovina for consultation. Without such consultation the document will not be binding for Muslims. At any rate, implementation of this document on the ground will not be easy. It will require a process that will be lengthy and arduous, and that might be more difficult than the tremendous obstacles we are facing at the present time."

Cheap Publicity

Filipovic described statements made by Serbs and Croats purporting that a solution to the problem was closer than at any other time in the past as "some sort of cheap publicity prior to the talks so that Muslims can be blamed for any failure. No fair-minded person, however, would ever fall for such tactics because the malicious Serbian and Croatian plans to control Bosnia were exposed a long time ago."

Filipovic thought that circumstances for the coming talks "seem so far to be no different from circumstances for the talks that preceded them. These talks yielded no fruitful results because of the Serbs' and Croats' insistence that attempts be made to circumvent the Muslims' legitimate rights by resorting to crooked methods whose aim is to deceive the legitimate Bosnian authorities who have the support of the European Federation, to entrap them, and not to meet their minimum demands."

Filipovic added, "The Serbs offered us some of the land which Croats have been asking for. It appeared as though they were offering us something that belonged to others. At the same time they did refuse and are still refusing to return to us areas in East and West Bosnia where a majority of the Muslim population used to live. They also do not agree to finding a way by means of which sections of the Bosnian state can be linked together. The Bosnian state will be made up of central and western Bosnia-Herzegovina in addition to Gorazde and Srebrenica, the two pockets in the east."

Filipovic referred to a number of cities which were occupied by the Serbs who "practiced in them the most horrible forms of ethnic cleansing. Muslims constituted a majority in those cities. According to the official 1991 census they were between 55 and 65 percent of the population in those cities."

Filipovic dealt with the position of the Croats, and he indicated that they too "had shown no willingness to reach solutions to very important problems, foremost among which is that of the status of Mostar, a city where Muslims constitute a majority. [Another problem is that of] letting the Bosnian state have an outlet on the Adriatic Sea."

Filipovic made it clear that "throughout its history Bosnia-Herzegovina had been a coastal state. That is why it would never be possible for the Croats alone to get this coastline while others are denied their right to it." He went on to say, "They have not listened so far to the explanations that we offered them. We told them that if Bosnia-Herzegovina were to be divided into three ethnic states, each one of those states was to have the right to an outlet to the sea."

Filipovic considered the offer made by Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian president, about the possibility of giving Muslims and Serbs an outlet at the Prevlaka Peninsula on the borders of the Republic of Montenegro as one "with only one positive implication, namely, that Tudjman recognized the right of non-Croats to have an outlet to the sea. Otherwise, he would be offering us and the Serbs something like a gift in an area that is approximately 150 km away from the Muslims' territory. Building a road to get to that outlet would require a long period of time and large sums of money. In addition, the road would have to go through rugged mountains across Serbian and Croatian territory and Montenegro. That is why we believe that Tudjman's aims are frightening. Foremost among those aims might be that of having the area of Prevlaka serve as a buffer and a secure zone with the present Yugoslavia. Tudjman may want the Muslims to protect his back side there, and he may want to make it possible for the Croats in the future to ask for the land which they had given the Muslims, based on the argument that the land is Croatian territory."

Filipovic affirmed that because of these legitimate reasons the Bosnian delegation will reject Tudjman's offer and will not give up their state's right to the port of Nayum itself, "especially since that port is historically Bosnian and is only 28 km from the borders of the future Bosnian state which will have a Muslim majority."

No Partitioning of Sarajevo

Filipovic defined the position of the Bosnian delegation in the coming talks and in any other talks. He said, "The delegation will not yield to Serbian and Croat demands on Muslim territory, and it will not back down on its demand for an equitable decision on the borders separating the ethnic groups. Nor will it back down on its demand for one outlet to the sea for the Bosnian state and another outlet to the Sava River. The Bosnian delegation will not accept any partitioning of the capital, Sarajevo." He said, "We regard the plans which have been set forth so far for peace in Bosnia to be plans which do not represent a stable, lasting solution because they do not undertake to do what is right. Using force and coercive measures to impose those solutions would be an indication of their failure in the future."

Filipovic revealed that the Bosnian delegation asked that the ethnic partitioning be done in accordance with the

most recent official and legal census which was conducted in 1991 under normal conditions, particularly since all parties were satisfied with it at the time.

Article Summarizes Provisions of New Media Law

AU2812075093 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 93 p 6

[Report by Lj. Zorkin: "Right To Three Mistakes"]

[Text] The new public information law will provide a greater guarantee of the freedom of public speech as well as protection from misuse, according to the Federal Government, which proposed it. If a court establishes on three occasions that an item of disinformation has violated the law, and thus imposes a ban on the broadcasting or publication of one of the public media, the Federal Information Ministry will not give the irresponsible editor another chance to repeat his mistake.

"After the third court ban, the Federal Information Minister has the right to remove the public media source from the registry. This effectively means the end of a newspaper's publication or the broadcasting of a radio or television station," Sanja Mikovic, assistant to the federal information minister, told VECERNJE NOVOSTI. "The new aspect that we have proposed means that nobody will have the right to arbitrate regarding the constitutional right to being informed. It would merely mean the observation of a court's decision."

The Right Measure

The Distribution of press can only be prevented by a court order following a request by the public prosecutor within 12 hours if it is decided that the item in question contains "incitement to destroy the constitutional order by violent means, the undermining of the FRY's territorial integrity, violation of the guaranteed rights and liberties of a man and a citizen, that is to say, instigation of racial and religious intolerance or hatred, or incitement to criminal activities." This is the actual wording of Article 29 of the proposed law.

Exclusion from the media registry is envisaged in only two additional cases—if within 10 months after a newspaper's entry into the media registry the paper in question has not started publication or a radio or television station has not started broadcasting, or if an interruption for more than six months occurs.

Foreign correspondents, correspondents from Yugoslavia for foreign media, and importers of the press are, according to the law, also subject to the authority of the Federal Information Ministry, which decides on entry into the registry. Hitherto permission for this type of activity was granted by the Federal Interior Ministry.

Foreign Aid Without Prohibition

"We have proposed a more liberal attitude toward foreign correspondents and thus merged two laws—about public information and the foreign press," Sanja Mikovic explains and adds that by putting forward this proposal the Federal Government has fulfilled its promise to coordinate these laws with the FRY Constitution.

Besides establishing the status of a foreign correspondent and a correspondent from Yugoslavia, to whom the ministry issues permits and identity cards valid for two years, the federal ministry also envisages keeping a log of foreign aid to the domestic media.

The founders, that is to say, the publishers of the public media can receive financial and other forms of aid (technical equipment) from abroad after seeking the view of the federal ministry, according to Article 17 of the proposed law.

"This view is not binding," Sanja Mikovic says, but the ministry has a duty to submit it to the publisher within 30 days. The law envisages that the publisher is obliged to inform the ministry about the receipt of foreign aid within eight days, to use it properly, and to keep separate records of it.

Serbia

Commission Announces Final Number of Seats Won

AU2712155593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] We have just received a statement by Zoran Djumic, spokesman for the Republican Electoral Commission:

[Begin Djumic recording] According to what we have learned, the repeat elections have taken place normally, so we can now say [word indistinct] that we have rounded off these extraordinary December elections. According to the information received by the Statistical Institute of Serbia, the order in terms of number of seats won has not changed. Therefore, the Socialist Party of Serbia remains with 123 seats, Depos with 45, the Serbian Radical Party with 39, the Democratic Party 29, the Democratic Party of Serbia seven, the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians five, and the Coalition Party for Democratic Action and the Democratic Party of Albanians two (?each).

We expect all the constituencies to send their final reports to the Republican Electoral Commission by this afternoon, so that we will be able to announce the final results tomorrow including the (?turnout) and that what [words indistinct] regarding these extraordinary December elections. [end recording]

SPS Official Views Victory, Krajina Vote

AU2312203893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Interview with Milomir Minic, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Serbia, by Zoran Zivkovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Minic] The Socialist Party of Serbia has accomplished a great political victory at these elections. The mere fact that the runner-up, the united coalition Depos, has merely one third of the seats conquered by our party illustrates how convincing this victory is. We have won in all communes in Serbia, with the exception of few communes where the citizens voted for their ethnic parties. It is well known that, at this year's elections, we have won more seats in Belgrade than at the previous elections and all together several hundreds of thousands of votes.

All this speaks of a great trust that the Serbian citizens place in the national and state policy pursued in Serbia, and in the correctness of this policy. This policy will be continued in Serbia. Namely, at these elections, Serbia has proven to the international community that it is unfaltering in the defense of its national and state interests. As they are commenting now, Serbia is like a rock in the defense of its interests.

Viewing the elections on an internal level, I believe that the results of these elections created the conditions for a stable parliament. Conditions have been created to compile a policy in Serbia that will be directed at resolving vital problems of the people, the questions of production, standard, stabilization, and everything else that is currently burdening our citizens.

With a policy of peace, economic recovery, equality of citizens, equal distribution of the burden of the crisis on the principle of social justice, and support for the functioning of a law-governed state and combating of crime, we have won the enormous trust of the citizens, as well as a huge responsibility. With these electoral results, we believe that the work in parliament will change so that the parties will compete in inventing the best possible solutions for economic and social issues that we are now facing.

After these elections, we expect that the parliamentary life in Serbia will improve. The extremist parties that advocate hatred and violence in politics have lost at these elections. It was the parties that are able to concentrate on peoples' vital issues that won.

After these elections, as we have understood, and I believe that the citizens of Serbia have said it best, a certain period is expected over the next few years, when we will concentrate on a great task. The message was to create unity in Serbia and in an appropriate manner stop interparty accusations and the creation of anxiety and instability in Serbia. I would like to say that these elections have created the conditions for a politically stable Serbia in which we can successfully realize the great obligations that we undertook before the Serbian citizens.

[Zivkovic] There will be elections in the republic of Serbian Krajina on Sunday? Surely, you must know whether Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic supports Milan Martic?

[Minic] It is widely known that President Milosevic highly cherishes Milan Martic as the most prominent fighter for Krajina's interests, a man of great personal courage and sacrifice in the defense of the Serbian nation, and especially as a man of great personal honesty, who in these turbulent times proved to be a persistent and very honest man whose hands have not been soiled by any dishonest deeds.

[Zivkovic] Speaking of the elections in Krajina, there have been numerous speculations regarding the Vance-Owen plan during the electoral campaign, namely, whether it should have been accepted or not. What is your stance regarding this?

[Minic] You know, speculation surrounding the elections and the Vance-Owen plan can only be spread by irresponsible and dishonest people, as the decision to embrace the Vance plan was an extremely correct one. This decision facilitated the end of the war and secured peace in the republic of Serbian Krajina. Thousands of human lives have been saved by this decision and conditions have been created to transgress from the war domain to the political domain to save the interests of the Serbian people and protect the interests of the republic of Serbian Krajina. During this year of peace in Krajina, the conditions have been created for Krajina to stabilize itself in an economic and social aspect, to organize itself politically, and be recognized as a political reality that participates in the search for a permanent solution for Krajina on an equal footing. Therefore, such speculations are truly irresponsible.

[Zivkovic] You have mentioned the stance of President Milosevic about Mr. Martic and a question imposes itself as a logical consequence. Why has Serbian President Mr. Milosevic received Milan Babic, here, in Belgrade?

[Minic] President Milosevic did not receive Milan Babic. This is absolutely not true. This is also one of the speculations surrounding the elections, which is symptomatic of all elections. It is absolutely not true that President Milosevic would have received Milan Babic.

Commission Head Comments on Election Rerun

AU2612201193 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Interview with Zoran Djumic, spokesman of the republican electoral commission, by Ida Mitrovic-Maricic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mitrovic-Maricic] Elections were repeated in five electoral units today.

[Djumic] That is correct. As is known, elections were repeated in five electoral units today because the law on the election of people's deputies was violated in one polling station in Belgrade, seven in Kragujevac, 23 in Leskovac, four in Nis, and five in Pristina. However, I must stress that one should not expect the repeat of elections in the polling stations in these electoral units to produce any significant changes in the results that have already been announced. Bearing in mind that we have a proportionate representation system, where the quotient also affects the results, there could be some shifts in the number of seats won.

[Mitrovic-Maricic] When do you expect the first official and final results.

[Djumic] The first official and final results are expected when we receive reports and the republican commission is the position to announce them.

[Mitrovic-Maricic] What are the initial assessments of the elections?

[Djumic] Assessments? I would start with what was stated by nearly 90 observers from 10 European countries. I would particularly like to single out the English, the French, the Romanians, and the Bulgarians, who stressed that the elections were democratic, that the organization of elections in polling stations was very good, that the voters voted without being pressured, and that they expressed their will. This is yet more proof that with these democratic elections we managed to show a democratic spirit despite the difficult economic situation, and that the elections were completed very successfully.

[Mitrovic-Maricic] When can we expect the first session of the new parliament?

[Djumic] We expect it, and this is also envisaged by the law, 20 days after the final results have been announced. So, we can expect it around 20 January.

Improved Economic Ties With Ukraine Stressed

LD2712185293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, December 27 (TANJUG)—Minister of Industry of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Momir Pavlicevic and Ukrainian Consul-General in Belgrade Vadim Primachenko agreed on Monday that the improvement of the economic cooperation between the two countries was in their mutual interest. Pavlicevic and Primachenko agreed that it was essential that Yugoslav and Ukrainian businessmen prepare concrete plans of cooperation after the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia, the Serbian Information Ministry said. On May 30 last year, the United Nations imposed tough sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the account of its alleged involvement in the civil war among Moslems, Serbs and Croats in the neighbouring former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The sanctions have been tightened twice.

Consortium Founded To Help Rebuild RSK

AU2312210393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Excerpts] A consortium for the realization of the program of the development of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], which consists of Simpo, Energoprojekt, CIP, Robne Kuce Beograd, Progres, Jugopetrol, and Beobanka, and the representatives of the RSK Government held a constituting session in Belgrade today. It was decided that Dr. Petar Skundric be the chairman of the managerial board. Professor Milan Maljevic was appointed the director of the consortium.

[Begin recording of Mirjana Jevtic] The Serbian companies that are members of the consortium have already been creating their business policy extensively to match the requirements of the RSK's economy, to allow an as-speedy-as-possible transition from wartime to peacetime production. A better life and a return of experts to these areas can only be secured with new projects.

Some 90 percent of the industrial capacities are ready for production by now, RSK Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic said. Relying on our own resources, Bjegovic stressed, we shall build houses for refugees ourselves, to stop further migration from the RSK. With concrete actions and well thought-out projects, the Serbian companies, each in their own field, should help us primarily in the development of the communication infrastructure, agriculture, energy, and the oil industry.

The CIP transport institute has designed the Bjeljina-Milosevac railroad, which should link all Serbian lands by next year. The preparations for the reconstruction of demolished bridges, roads, and other communications are also underway.

A major task awaits Simpo, as the RSK is rich in raw materials needed for the wood industry. The information that, out of the total of 112 companies in the RSK, 80 factories are ready for exploitation, should also be mentioned. [passage omitted]

With the creation of a new business atmosphere on those territories, the RSK is striving to engage, through the consortium, nearly all major corporations as well as private Serbian entrepreneurs who have the knowledge and the interest to invest in the reconstruction of factory lines and new industrial programs. Through development and strategic projects, the consortium will facilitate RSK's faster integration with the Republic of Serbia and help it grow into a center of business strength that will, as such, be a much more interesting partner for foreign companies, too. [end recording]

Macedonia

Rugova Briefs Gligorov on Kosovo Situation

AU2812073893 Skopje MIC in English 27 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "Gligorov Receives Rugova"]

[Text] Macedonia's President Kiro Gligorov met with the president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova, on Saturday [25 December], who was passing through Macedonia. According to the announcement issued by the president's cabinet, Rugova informed Gligorov about the results of his trip to a number of European countries, and particularly the current situation on Kosovo. During the meeting, they exchanged opinions over the current situation in the region.

Montenegro

Officials Note Need for Ties With Macedonia

LD2512125393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1227 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Podgorica, December 25 (TANJUG)—Local officials from the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro and local and republican officials of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.M.) agreed at a meeting that restoration of cooperation would be in their mutual interests.

The two sides pointed out the need for establishing close cooperation on all levels after the lifting of the U.N. sanctions imposed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, president of Montenegro's regional association of communes Radenko Bojovic said after the Montenegrin delegation returned from the F.Y.R.M. The two sides agreed to restore ties in the fields of cultural and sports activities first and then in the area of the economy.

The Macedonian side voiced interest to again be present on the Montenegrin market, Bojovic said and added that representatives of the pharmaceutical industry Alkaloid of Skopje had promised to send humanitarian deliveries in medicaments and medical equipment. A delegation of local authorities from the F.Y.R.M. had recently visited Montenegro.

The Macedonian economy suffers major losses as a result of the implementation of the tough economic sanctions against Yugoslavia because its main markets were in the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro in the period before the embargo, which was imposed in May last year.

Kosovo

Draskovic Condemns Albanians for Vote Boycott

AU2712203993 Paris AFP in English 2017 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Pristina, Serbia, Dec 27 (AFP)—Serbian liberal opposition leader Vuk Draskovic on Monday [27 December] chided the Albanian majority in Kosovo for boycotting Serbian parliamentary polls on December 19, accusing them of placing themselves in a "ghetto."

In an interview in Tuesday's edition of the Albanian-language newspaper ZERI, published in this capital of the autonomous Serbian province of Kosovo, Draskovic said the widely-observed boycott action had helped Serb President Slobodan Milosevic's Socialist Party to come out on top in the elections.

The decision by the independence-seeking ethnic Albanians, who make up 90 percent of Kosovo's population, amounted to "ghettoizing" and ammounted to "direct support" of the former communists, who narrowly failed to win an overall majority in the Serbian parliament.

Draskovic, head of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) which contested the elections as part of an opposition coalition, said the problem of Kosovo could be solved only if a "democratic regime" was set up in Belgrade.

If elected to power Draskovic said he would propose "a dialogue" with Ibrahim Rugova, whom he described as the "legitimate representative" of Kosovo's Albanian population.

"Two decisive factors" would have to be reconciled, he said. While Kosovo had a "large majority" of ethnic Albanians, it was also "the birthplace of Serb culture, faith, the Serb state and its national myth."

Rejecting any idea of bloodshed in Kosovo, Draskovic said these factors would have to be reconciled through "peaceful, democratic means, satisfying both sides and leaving Kosovo where it is now: in Serbia."

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, military, economic, environmental, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available sources. It should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed. Except for excluding certain diacritics, FBIS renders personal names and place-names in accordance with the romanization systems approved for U.S. Government publications by the U.S. Board of Geographic Names.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Central Eurasia, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735,or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.